

Université de Montréal

Evolution and integration of the Greek community of Greater Montreal.

A perspective across three generations.

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Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Masters of Urban Planning

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Évolution et intégration de la communauté grecque du Grand Montréal.

Une perspective en trois générations.

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Εξέλιξη και ενσωμάτωση της ελληνικής κοινότητας του Μόντρεαλ.

Μια προοπτική σε τρεις γενιές.

Αθανάσιος Μπούτας

Τμήμα Σχεδιασμού

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École d'urbanisme et d'architecture de paysage, Faculté de l'aménagement

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Évolution et intégration de la communauté grecque du Grand Montréal.

Une perspective en trois générations.

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Abstract

The research aims to explore the experiences in the city of three generations of Greek-Canadians over a period of roughly 60 years. By tracing the evolution of Montreal's Greek community, this project aims to identify how a city goes from having ethnic neighbourhoods to having ethnicities living fluidly in its urban neighbourhoods. Previously, ethnic neighbourhoods existed as a physical space within the city. With new mobilities, ethnicities continue to live within the physical space of the city, but now also exist beyond it, moving through it, and changing how each subsequent generation identifies with its heritage and community of belonging. To achieve this goal and gain a better understanding, a series of semi-directed interviews were conducted. On the one hand, these interviews allowed for the mapping of different places in which daily life is based in at different key moments of immigration (arrival and subsequent settlements) and, on the other hand, explored the experiences and meanings associated with these places, where identities, attachments, and feelings of familiarity are discussed. The qualitative analysis of these allowed to construct a larger picture to see how each generation shapes and takes shape from the city. Three experiences in the city are brought to light: for the first generation, home and community take place in a foreign city; for the second generation, they live in a community firmly established within the metropolitan area, and for the third generation, they live in a community that has dispersed into socio-spatial hubs. This research allowed to confirm the existing literature of spatial assimilation among the Greek-Canadian diaspora, while also opening avenues to new ways of looking at this kind of assimilation through the lens of mobility.

Keywords: immigration – integration – lifestyle – mobility – ethnic neighbourhood – Montreal – Greek community

Résumé

Cette recherche vise à explorer les expériences de la ville de trois générations de Gréco-Canadiens sur une période d'environ 60 ans. En retraçant l'évolution de la communauté hellénique de Montréal, ce projet vise à identifier comment une ville passe de quartiers ethniques à des ethnies qui habitent de manière fluide des quartiers urbains. Auparavant, les quartiers ethniques existaient en tant qu'espace physique dans la ville. Avec des nouvelles mobilités, les ethnies existent toujours dans l'espace physique de la ville, mais elles évoluent à travers elle, changeant notamment la façon dont chaque génération s'identifie à son patrimoine et à sa communauté d'appartenance. Pour atteindre cet objectif et obtenir une meilleure compréhension, une série d'entretiens semi-dirigés ont été menés. Ces entretiens ont permis, d'une part, de cartographier les différents lieux dans lesquels s'appuie la vie quotidienne à différents moments-clés de l'immigration (arrivée et installations subséquentes) et, d'autre part, d'explorer les expériences et significations associées à ces lieux, où les identités, attachements et sentiments de familiarité sont discutés. Leur analyse qualitative a permis de construire une image plus large pour voir comment chacune des générations prend forme et façonne la ville. Trois expériences de la ville ont été mises en lumière : pour la première génération, le lieu de résidence et la communauté prennent place dans une ville étrangère ; la deuxième génération vit dans une communauté solidement ancrée dans la région métropolitaine ; et la troisième génération vit dans une communauté dispersée dans des hubs sociospatiaux ethniques. Cette recherche a permis de confirmer les connaissances sur l'assimilation spatiale de la diaspora gréco-canadienne, tout en ouvrant de nouvelles voies pour examiner cette assimilation à la lumière de la mobilité.

Mots-clés : immigration – intégration – mode de vie – mobilité – quartier ethnique – Montréal – communauté grecque

Περίληψη

Η έρευνα αυτή έχει ως στόχο να διερευνήσει τις εμπειρίες της πόλης από τρεις γενιές Ελληνοκαναδών κατά ένα χρονικό διάστημα περίπου 60 ετών. Παρατηρώντας την εξέλιξη της ελληνικής κοινότητας στο Μοντρεάλ, το έργο αυτό επιδιώκει να προσδιορίσει το πώς οι εθνοτικές γειτονιές (ethnic neighbourhoods) μιας πόλης μεταβάλλονται σε κεντρικά σημεία (hubs) στα οποία υπάρχουν διάφορες εθνότητες. Παλαιότερα, οι εθνοτικές γειτονιές υπήρχαν ως φυσικός χώρος στην πόλη. Με νέες και αυξημένες μεθόδους κινητικότητας, οι εθνοτικοί πληθυσμοί συνεχίζουν να υπάρχουν μέσα στο φυσικό χώρο της πόλης, αλλά επίσης διακινούνται δια μέσω αυτού και αλλάζουν τον τρόπο με τον οποίο η κάθε γενιά ταυτίζεται με την κληρονομιά της και την κοινότητα στην οποία ανήκει. Για να επιτευχθεί αυτός ο στόχος και να κατανοηθεί καλύτερα αυτό το φαινόμενο, διεξήχθη μία σειρά ημιδομημένων συνεντεύξεων. Αφενός, οι συνεντεύξεις αυτές χαρτογράφησαν τους διάφορους τόπους στην πόλη στους οποίους βασίζεται η καθημερινότητα σε διαφορετικές βασικές στιγμές της ζωής (για τους μετανάστες, κατά την άφιξη τους και στις επακόλουθες εγκαταστάσεις και για τους ντόπιους, από την γέννησή τους και μετά) και, αφετέρου, διερεύνησαν τις εμπειρίες και τις σημασίες που σχετίζονται με αυτά τα μέρη, όπου συζητήθηκαν ταυτότητες, προσκολλησεις και οικεία συναισθήματα. Η ποιοτική τους ανάλυση βοήθησε να δημιουργηθεί μια ευρύτερη εικόνα για να παρατηρηθεί πώς η κάθε γενιά έχει διαμορφώσει την πόλη, αλλά και πώς έχει διαμορφωθεί από εκείνη. Τρεις εμπειρίες της πόλης εμφανίστηκαν: για την πρώτη γενιά, ο τόπος κατοικίας και της εθνοτικής κοινότητας ιδρύονται και υπάρχουν σε μια ξένη πόλη. Για την δεύτερη γενιά, έχουν μεγαλώσει και ζούνε σε μια εθνοτική κοινότητα που είχε ήδη αγκυροβολήσει στην ευρύτερη περιοχή. Και τελικά για την τρίτη γενιά, έχουν μεγαλώσει και συνεχίζουν να ζουν σε μια κοινωνία που έχει διασκορπιστεί σε εθνοτικούς κοινωνικο-χωροταξικούς κόμβους. Η έρευνα αυτή επιβεβαίωσε τη γνώση της χωρικής αφομοίωσης της ελληνοκαναδικής διασποράς, ανοίγοντας νέες οδούς για να εξετάσει αυτή την αφομοίωση της μετανάστευσης υπό το πρίσμα της κινητικότητας.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: μετανάστευση – ενσωμάτωση – τρόπος ζωής – κινητικότητα – εθνική γειτονιά – Μόντρεαλ – Ελληνική κοινότητα

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List of abbreviations

AIMS – Assimilation, integration, marginalization, segregation

HCGM – Hellenic Community of Greater Montreal

STM – Société de transport de Montréal

STL – Société de transport de Laval

Dedicated to my parents

For teaching me the value of hard work and always pushing me to do my best in anything I do

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Introduction

Montreal is among one of the most multicultural and cosmopolitan cities in Canada, and as of late, in all of North America.¹ Throughout its history, the city has welcomed people from around the world seeking new starts, and much of its present-day social fabric has been built on these migratory waves. As one of the oldest cities in North America, it has always been a landing spot for outsiders, due to its geography and urban fabric: with the city limits confined to an island, it was easy for the early city to develop in a grid formation. This, in turn, allowed for the development of distinct neighbourhoods which were further emphasized by the settling of different ethnic populations to create 'ethnic villages.'² While a lot of these ethnic villages do not necessarily exist in their original form today, they have contributed to the diverse character that has made Montreal an immigrant destination. Among the earliest migrant groups to arrive from Europe were the French and the British, who colonized much of the St. Lawrence Seaway during the Age of Discovery between the 15th and 18th centuries. At the end of the 18th century, following the end of the American Revolution, a large number of British loyalists made their way to Montreal from the former colonies, which at the time was no longer a French colony, but a British one.³ From the mid-19th century to the early decades of the 20th century, at a period of time associated with the Industrial Revolution, high demands for manual labour, combined with political instability in many burgeoning European nation states, saw more immigrants of British descent arrive, mainly from Ireland and Scotland, as well as Italians, and multi-ethnic Jewish peoples.⁴ The period following World War II (1939-1945) saw the continued arrival to Canada, including Montreal, of more Europeans in higher numbers – among them were Italians, Greeks, and Portuguese, as well as large numbers of Eastern Europeans, all of whom were seeking to escape the harsh geopolitical and social environments of post-war Europe.⁵ Since the 1970s, Montreal's immigrant population has become much more diverse, moving past Europeans to

¹ Annick Germain and Martha Radice, "Cosmopolitanism by Default: Public Sociability in Montréal," in *Cosmopolitan Urbanism*, ed. Jon Binnie et al. (London : New York, NY: New York : Routledge, 2006), 115.

² *Ibid.*, 116.

³ The Treaty of Paris (1763) ceded all French North American territorial gains to the British, except for the islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon.

⁴ John Douglas Belshaw, *Canadian History: Post-Confederation* (Victoria, BC: BCampus, 2016), 236, <https://opentextbc.ca/postconfederation/>.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 253.

include immigrants from Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Latin America, and the Middle East, with a particular focus on immigrants from French-speaking countries in those regions.⁶

As the previously mentioned migratory waves have settled in Montreal throughout time, many parts of the city have come to be associated with either the culture, the language, or the religion of a particular ethnic group. Today, Montreal is marked by people, landmarks, or social and cultural events representing one of the many different nationalities that live in the city. There are some ethnic groups whose roots run so deep in Montreal that there are entire neighbourhoods that have become associated with them and their history. Near the downtown core, Montreal's Chinese community has Chinatown; in the Plateau-Mont-Royal, along Saint-Laurent Boulevard, exist Little Portugal and Little Italy. Just west of these neighbourhoods, a part of the Plateau – as it is referred to by Montrealers – is also home to Montreal's Jewish community. In fact, many immigrant populations passed through the Plateau for about a hundred years between the mid-19th and mid-20th centuries – a period marked by rapid industrial and urban growth for all of Montreal. Three of Montreal's more prominent north-south corridors run through the borough of the Plateau: Saint-Laurent Boulevard, Parc Avenue, and Saint-Denis Street. It is through these corridors that immigrants made their way up and north into the island to disperse into new areas of the city as they developed. More recently, international immigration into the city has become much more diverse, with people arriving from places like the Caribbean, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia. In contrast to older immigrant generations, these new immigrants have settled in areas outside the traditional inner-city neighbourhoods that the industrial-era immigrants first settled in. Many immigrants in the past were arriving as unskilled, uneducated manual labourers to a market that was industrializing and that required those types of workers. This has changed today, where highly qualified, skilled, and educated immigrants are arriving to job markets that have evolved and become more knowledge-based. However, the goals of immigrant settlement remain the same, regardless of when they arrived: immigrants will always seek to settle in places where they could afford to live and have easy access to work and services. Of particular interest, in this case, are the Greeks, who started to arrive in significant numbers following the conclusion of World War II and settled along the immigration corridor of the Plateau.

⁶ Germain and Radice, "Cosmopolitanism by Default: Public Sociability in Montréal," 115–16.

What makes the Greeks an interesting case is the length of time of their presence in Montreal. They have not been around long enough to be fully assimilated into Canadian society, yet they are also not new enough (in terms of their migration history) to feel like they should have to segregate themselves from the host society. In general terms, it can be said that the Greeks present a case of a successful integration into Canadian society, where they have managed to maintain their ethnic identity, all the while being able to live normal lives in the host society.

While there are certainly a number of Greek-Montrealers who can trace their origins further back than pre-war years, a large majority of them are able to go as far back as the post-World War II period. With that in mind, three distinct generations of modern Greek-Montrealers emerge:

- The first generation: those who originally immigrated to Montreal in the years following World War II and are currently decreasing in numbers due to old age;
- The second generation: children of the immigrants, usually born and raised in Montreal;
- The third generation: children of second generation Greek-Canadians – and as such, grandchildren of the first generation – who are also born and raised in Montreal.

Montreal's Greek community may not be quite as old as the Irish or Italian communities, but also not as recent as the Haitian or Middle Eastern communities. This places them in the middle of the city's immigrant chronology, at a crossroads of time with regards to what could happen next when looking at potential outcomes. As a community that has integrated into Canadian society, one of two possible outcomes could emerge. The first is that they will either continue to remain integrated, having found a balance between maintaining their own cultural identity and that of the host society. The second is that they will assimilate as the generations go by, with each subsequent generation holding on less and less to their ethnic identity and becoming more and more like the people of the host society, to the point where they become almost indistinguishable from other Canadians.

Immigration is a phenomenon that is becoming increasingly important today. Increasing numbers of people are leaving countries that are troubled by a variety of safety factors, such as wars and persecutions, economic factors, such as poverty and lack of employment opportunities, environmental factors, such as natural disasters leading to destruction of housing and crops, or

social factors that limit opportunities.⁷ With Montreal already being an established immigrant city, and with so many people of different ethnic groups – including the Greeks – having established themselves and taken active roles in city life, it is logical to continue having Montreal be a hub for immigration. An influx of immigrants can only serve to change the city for the better by increasing productivity and prosperity and adding to its diversity.⁸ In return, the city also changes the people – for better or for worse – as they experience new ways of living. This can mean that they establish new immigrant neighbourhoods, or they assimilate into the host society as time passes by. There is a constant exchange between the city and its people in which each changes through the shared experiences of the other. What is most important, however, is to see how these changes affect one another as cities continue to welcome immigrants. The case of the Greeks in Montreal will be used to explore whether there are changes – and what those changes are – in a relatively short amount of time.

This thesis is broken down into 7 chapters. Chapter 1 will present the problem and research question – it will set up the rest of this thesis by looking at what the issue at hand is and asking the basic questions that are the driving force behind the project. Chapter 2 will then provide context on the history of Greeks in Canada and Montreal, as well as statistical and cartographic overviews the population. Chapter 3 will serve as a literature review by examining what are the social dimensions of the immigrant settlement process over the last 60 years. Chapter 4 will then present a critical perspective on the three dimensions that this thesis is basing itself on. This will include presenting the classical theories that have made up urban studies for the last 100 years, as well as some more contemporary theories that have become important in recent times. The research strategy, the hypothesis, and the methodology will be presented in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 will then present the results and the analysis of the research in relation to the theories and concepts brought up from the perspectives of each of the three generations, and through three key dimensions: people, places, and spaces. Finally, Chapter 7 will consist of a discussion of those results and their interpretations in an ever-changing world, as well as a look at what are the key elements that made this a successful immigration in the hopes of providing guidance for future migratory waves.

⁷ AAIN Wickramasinghe and Wijitapure Wimalaratana, “International Migration and Migration Theories,” *Social Affairs* 1, no. 5 (2016): 13–32.

⁸ Belshaw, *Canadian History: Post-Confederation*, 262–63.

Chapter 1 – Problem and research objectives

1.1 – Problem

With the world now fully in the throes of globalization, the question of international migration has become an important topic in recent years. The world today faces numerous challenges in international migration that are felt across all levels of society, from an international level to a neighbourhood level. Different responsibilities fall on the various levels of government (federal, provincial, municipal) to deal with these challenges in ways that immigrants could continue to arrive and cohabit peacefully with their fellow citizens. Perhaps the largest challenges, however, fall on municipal governments, which are involved in the processes of having to provide housing, employment, and a variety of services to the newcomers. In the context of what constitutes a successful immigration, it appears, at first glance, that the Greeks come out as being successful in having integrated into Canadian society, rather similarly to people of other past European migratory waves. In a 1969 documentary about the Greek community of Montreal at the time, documentarian Bill Davies describes the Greeks as model citizens who do not often get into trouble.⁹ Over 45 years later, in another documentary about the historically Greek neighbourhood of Parc-Extension (Parc-Ex), filmmaker Tony Assimakopoulos once again shows how the Greeks of Montreal, as a people, have remained model citizens, although not without their share of struggles throughout the years.¹⁰ These are examples of how Greeks have integrated into Canadian society and created a positive image for themselves among, and as, Canadians.

As part of the 2016 Annual Meeting of the Global Future Councils, Ontario Senator Ratna Omidvar wrote, “we are clinging to outdated infrastructure and patterns of mobility. We operate reactively instead of planning for the future.”¹¹ Indeed, as the world has modernized and globalized, policies and practices that were put in place in the past have proven to be outdated and ineffective in managing newer waves of migration and meeting their needs. This makes it difficult for both the arriving and the receiving populations to adapt to the circumstances surrounding them, resulting in reactionary – and often unnecessary – behaviours.

⁹ Bill Davies, *The 80 Goes to Sparta*, Documentary (National Film Board of Canada, 1969), https://www.nfb.ca/film/80_goes_to_sparta/.

¹⁰ Tony Assimakopoulos, *Return to Park Ex*, Documentary (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), 2017), <https://www.cbc.ca/cbcdocs/pov/episodes/return-to-park-ex>.

¹¹ Ratna Omidvar, “The Biggest Issues Facing Migrants Today - and What We Can Do to Solve Them,” World Economic Forum, accessed November 8, 2018, <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/11/the-biggest-issues-facing-migrants-today/>.

When looking at immigration, it is more than just the act of “travel[ing] into a country for the purpose of permanent residence there.”¹² Immigration involves settling down, finding housing, finding work, making connections with places and people, and creating spaces. It is a complex and endless process consisting of many smaller, intertwined processes. As such, it becomes important to study the migration experiences of people on a global scale, as well as on a local scale, which is a part of what this thesis aims to do. Furthermore, because the world is ever-changing, the theories and ideas that were previously put in place about immigrants’ residential patterns have come to change as well. Eric Fong and Brent Berry explore this in the introduction of their book, *Immigration and the City*, where they explore the classical explanations of Ernest Burgess and Walter Firey, as well as more contemporary ideas.¹³ These will be explored later on.

Throughout its recent history, Canada has been a very welcoming country in terms of accepting immigrants. A quick overview of Statistics Canada shows that the number of immigrants entering the country has been increasing steadily, from 928,940 between 2001 and 2005, to 1,056,090 between 2006 and 2016, and to 1,212,075 between 2011 and 2016.¹⁴ These numbers are projected to increase for the period 2016-2021, as Ahmed Hussen, Canada’s Immigration Minister, has stated that the goal is for Canada to accept as many as 350,000 new immigrants in 2021 for that year alone.¹⁵ With so many new people entering the country, however, a number of new questions and issues will undoubtedly arise, bringing the whole issue full circle and back to the statement made by Senator Omidvar.

The challenges of international migration can also be felt at the local, municipal levels. As immigrants arrive to cities, there are numerous challenges that must be overcome both by the

¹² “Definition of IMMIGRATION,” in *Merriam-Webster*, accessed November 8, 2018, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/immigration>.

¹³ E. Fong and B. Berry, *Immigration and the City*, Immigration and Society (Wiley, 2017), 8–24, <https://books.google.ca/books?id=mnVIDgAAQBAJ>.

¹⁴ Statistics Canada Government of Canada, “Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration (11), Individual Low-Income Status (6), Low-Income Indicators (4), Age (6) and Sex (3) for the Population in Private Households of Canada, Provinces and Territories, Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations, 2016 Census - 25% Sample Data,” October 25, 2017, <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/dt-td/Rp-eng.cfm?LANG=E&APATH=3&DETAIL=0&DIM=0&FL=A&FREE=0&GC=0&GID=0&GK=0&GRP=1&PID=110561&PRID=10&PTYPE=109445&S=0&SHOWALL=0&SUB=0&Temporal=2017&THEME=120&VID=0&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF=>.

¹⁵ Ahmed Hussen, “2018 Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration” (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2018), 12, <https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/migration/ircc/english/pdf/pub/annual-report-2018.pdf>.

city itself and by the immigrants that arrive to it. For the cities, they need to consider how to integrate the newcomers into their communities by having an adequate housing stock and job and integration opportunities (national language, employment, leisure, etc.). The possibility exists that there will be social and cohabitation issues that arise as immigrants attempt to settle in their new surroundings. In some instances, there are ethnic neighbourhoods that have community centres and workshops aimed at helping newcomers by providing services in surroundings that are more familiar and in the languages that they speak.¹⁶ For the immigrants, the issue of settling in a new place often seems like a monumental task, especially if they are unfamiliar with the language and the culture of their new home.

The integration of newly admitted residents and the paths they chose to follow will be an important issue for years to come. However, looking to the past and the migratory waves it brought could be beneficial in helping to better prepare for the future. The Greeks could be considered to have had successful immigration: they came, they settled, and they have integrated with each passing generation. Presumably, they have kept in touch with their roots and their culture, while also embracing Canadian culture. In short, this immigration is considered successful because neither the immigrant group nor the host society lost anything; both appear to have benefited from it.

1.2 – Research objectives and question

A large majority of Greek immigrants arriving to Montreal were part of the great post-war migration waves. In that regard, it is interesting to note the different social, political, and cultural contexts from which they were leaving and to which they were arriving. Certainly, these must have had a profound influence on their worldviews upon arriving to Montreal and on how the ensuing years would pass. The same could be said for their children's and their grandchildren's generations. All this leads to the main research question of this thesis, which is broken into two parts:

¹⁶ Claudie Eustache, "La diversité et l'immigration en banlieue de Montréal : Quelles réponses à une nouvelle réalité municipale ?" (Université de Montréal, 2015); Sébastien Lord et al., "Explorer et reconstruire un chez-soi à l'étranger. Une exploration des parcours d'installation résidentielle d'immigrants internationaux à Montréal.," *Espace, Population et Société*, 2019. Article accepted, to appear.

How has each generation of Greek-Canadians adapted to and become influenced by the host society, and in which ways? How is it observed through their residential trajectories and their lifestyles?

The answers to these questions will help to better trace out the trajectory of each generation and the residential choices they have made along the way, with particular focus given to people, places, and spaces from the perspectives of each generation. It then becomes a question of analyzing these through the scopes of lifestyle choices and residential mobility. Answering the following questions on residential environment will allow for a better analysis and understanding of the day-to-day lives of Greek-Montrealers, which, in turn, will give a better indication of how much they have integrated into Canadian society from residential and lifestyle perspectives.

- Where do Greek-Montrealers live? Has this changed over time, and how?
- Who do Greek-Montrealers associate with? Has this changed over time, and how?
- Where do Greek-Montrealers go for different personal, professional, and cultural activities? Have these changed over time, and how?
- How have the changes – or lack of changes – helped with the integration of Greeks in Montreal?

Exploring these questions helps with answering the original question, as well as getting a clearer image of just how successful Greek immigration has been. However, the question of time must also be considered, which is why there is a set of questions associated with each generation.

- For the first generation: How did they establish themselves as Greeks in a new city? What were the Greek places they visited and the Greek spaces they created? How has the city helped them to integrate, or not?
- For the second generation: What were their experiences growing up as the children of immigrants? How did these experiences influence the places they went to and the spaces they created? Throughout their lives, have these places and spaces changed because of their Greek and non-Greek experiences?
- For the third generation: How are they Greek in today's city? What makes a Greek-Montrealer 'Greek' today? What, if anything, has changed from the way a modern Greek-Montrealer experiences being Greek following two generations of integration?

All these questions will be explored through a series of questionnaires designed specifically for each generation. In the end, it is expected that there will be three distinct portraits, one per generation, and with each relating differently to the dimensions listed above. As such, it will be easier to determine to what degree each generation has integrated into Canadian society, and what the results of those integrations are.

Chapter 2 – Historical overview of Greek-Canadians

2.1 – Brief history of Greeks in Canada

The earliest recorded instance of a Greek in Canada dates back to the Age of Exploration, when, in the 16th century, a Greek sailor named Juan de Fuca¹⁷ explored part of the Northwest Passage in what is today British Columbia.¹⁸ He was a pioneer for countless other Greeks to come to Canada over the next few centuries, in search of opportunities, better lives, and adventure.

The Greek population saw a very slow rise in the late part of the 19th century; there were just not enough immigrants arriving to Canada. The total Greek population of Canada in 1871 was 39 people, and by 1900 had reached approximately 200. It is only after 1900 that there was a rapid increase in Greeks entering the country, with over 2,500 Greek immigrants arriving between 1900 and 1907.¹⁹ By 1912, the Greek population of Canada had reached 5,740, with approximately two thirds of them living in the provinces of Quebec and Ontario.²⁰ The factors that contributed to this population increase will be explored further below.

Many of the early immigrants to arrive to Canada in the late 19th and early 20th centuries settled primarily in large cities. There were two factors attracting Greek immigrants to urban areas: first, they were mostly sailors arriving in port cities such as Montreal and Vancouver, and decided to stay because they actually enjoyed the cities, paving the way for others to arrive, as well. Second, many immigrants arriving from Greece preferred urban areas over rural areas, as the reason for their emigration from Greece was to escape the agricultural work they were doing back home.²¹ The opportunity to work in a city, make money, and then go back to Greece wealthier than they had left was too enticing to pass up.

Most of the immigrants arriving to Canada at the time were young, unmarried men. Because their situations were so similar – they were poor, uneducated, unskilled labourers – they often lived together with others like them “in some cooperative arrangement and forming what may be

¹⁷ Juan de Fuca was the Spanish name used by the Greek sailor Ioannis Phokas, from the island of Cephalonia. At the time of his expedition, Phokas was sailing for the Spanish Crown, thus the Spanish translation of his name.

¹⁸ George Demetrius Vlassis, *The Greeks in Canada*, [2d ed.]. (Ottawa: Ottawa, 1953), 79.

¹⁹ Peter D. Chimpos, *The Canadian Odyssey : The Greek Experience in Canada* (Toronto : Ottawa: McClelland and Stewart, 1980), 23–24.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 26.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 25.

called primary groups of Greek extraction.”²² Their social interactions consisted of going to Greek restaurants and coffee shops and socializing with their compatriots. Additionally, because there were not many Greek women around at the time, they would often marry local women, resulting in early mixed marriages. Greater numbers of Greek women and children would start to arrive to Canada in 1905, and the traditional Greek-Canadian family would start to take shape then.²³

In the following decades, a number of Greek communities, associations, and churches were founded across the country. Each was important in reminding Greek immigrants and their Canadian-born children of their culture, their heritage, and their faith. In the early parts of the century, Greek associations were often founded first, followed by churches, and mostly in larger cities like Montreal and Toronto. Eventually, other cities got their own Greek associations and churches, such that by the middle of the 20th century, there was a strong presence of Greeks in places like Vancouver and Edmonton, among others.²⁴

By far the largest influx of Greeks to Canada came in the decades following the end of World War II. Various push and pull factors saw to it that a migratory wave of well over 107,000 Greek immigrants entered the country between 1945 and 1971.²⁵ The total number of Greek origin citizens living in Canada went from 11,692, including 5,871 Greek-born immigrants, in 1941,²⁶ to 124,475 in 1971,²⁷ including 78,780 Greek-born immigrants.²⁸

More recently, a new wave of Greek immigrants have made their way to Canada in the early part of the 21st century. This cohort of immigrants can be divided into two categories: those who have Canadian citizenship and at one point returned to Greece only to come back to Canada, and those who came to Canada as legal immigrants in the hopes of finding work and settling permanently.²⁹

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., 26.

²⁴ Ibid., 28.

²⁵ Ibid., 29.

²⁶ Vlassis, *The Greeks in Canada*, 93.

²⁷ Chimbos, *The Canadian Odyssey : The Greek Experience in Canada*, 31.

²⁸ M.V. Grégoire, “Profile Studies - Place of Birth and Citizenship of Canada’s Population,” Bulletin, 1971 Census of Canada (Ottawa, ON: Statistics Canada, 1978), 19, http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2017/statcan/CS99-711-1971.pdf.

²⁹ Stephanos Constantinides, “La nouvelle immigration grecque,” *Études helléniques/Hellenic Studies* 21, no. 2 (2013): 90.

As of the most recent census data available, Canada's total ethnic Greek population numbered 271,410, including 65,715 immigrants.³⁰

2.2 – Brief history of Greeks in Montreal

There is no definitive date as to when the first Greeks arrived in Montreal. According to George Vlassis, it is possible that Greek sailors who had been sailing along the St. Lawrence River had abandoned their ships and settled with local women in small towns and villages along the river, but nobody knows for sure.³¹ However, consensus is that the first officially documented Greeks in Montreal were veterans of the Greek Revolution of 1821-28 by the names of Panayiotis Nonis and Theodore Lekas, having arrived in 1843.³² The stories of early Greeks to arrive in Montreal are countless, yet they all have one thing in common: down-on-their-luck immigrants struggling to get by in Montreal and being aided by a very small contingent of fellow Greeks who had somehow managed to succeed. The Greek population of Montreal remained small in the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, only reaching approximately 1,000 people by 1906.³³

In 1907, the Greek population of Montreal founded the “Communauté grecque orthodoxe de Montréal” (the ‘Greek Orthodox Community of Montreal’), also known as the *Koinotita* (the Community). The main objective of the *Koinotita* was to establish a Greek-Orthodox church so that the members of the community may be able to practice their religion, as well as to found a Greek school in which the children of immigrants could attend and learn the Greek language, and Greek history and geography.³⁴ These goals were successfully met by the end of the decade.

Along with the founding of the *Koinotita* was also the founding of three national associations: *Patris* (Homeland), *Anagenisis* (Renaissance), and *Panhellinios Enosis* (Panhellenic Union). The purpose of these was to help newly arrived immigrants settle and find work, as well as to provide

³⁰ Statistics Canada Government of Canada, “Census Profile, 2016 Census - Canada [Country] and Canada [Country],” February 8, 2017, <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=PR&Code1=01&Geo2=PR&Code2=01&SearchText=Canada&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&TABID=1&type=0>.

³¹ Vlassis, *The Greeks in Canada*, 137.

³² Chimbos, *The Canadian Odyssey : The Greek Experience in Canada*, 22; Sophia Florakas-Petsalis, *To Build the Dream : The Story of Early Greek Immigrants in Montreal* ([Montreal]: Sophia Publications, 2000), 25; Vlassis, *The Greeks in Canada*, 137.

³³ Tina Ioannou, *La communauté grecque du Québec* (Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, Québec, 1983), 20; Peter Stathopoulos, *The Greek Community of Montréal* (Athens: Athens, National Center of Social Research, 1971), 25.

³⁴ Ioannou, *La communauté grecque du Québec*, 20.

them with information about living in Montreal and for purposes of leisure, connecting, and socializing with other Greeks. Furthermore, the Cretans' Association, the first regional association in Montreal, was founded in 1912,³⁵ with similar goals as those of the national associations. Their purpose was to cater primarily towards Greeks who had arrived from the island of Crete. Many other regional associations would be founded in the decades to come, all with a similar purpose.

Montreal's Greek population continued to increase, reaching somewhere between 2,000 and 2,200 Greeks by 1934.³⁶ The next great wave of Greek immigrants to Montreal coincided with the end of the World War II and the national influx of Greeks in Canada. The Greek population of Quebec of 2,728 in 1941 suddenly burst to 19,930 by 1961, and to 42,870 by 1971.³⁷ According to Tina Ioannou, by 1971, 96% of Greeks living in Quebec lived on the island of Montreal or on Île Jésus (Laval); including the Greeks living in the South Shore communities of Chambly and Laprairie, that number was at 98%.³⁸

Additionally by this mid-century period, with the arrival of new Greek immigrants and the existence of some generations-old Greeks in Montreal, a new social stratification within the Greek community started to present itself. New Greeks were arriving from different backgrounds, with new ideas and different politics, and often found themselves at odds with the older generations.³⁹ With so many Greeks living in Montreal and all with different backgrounds and experiences, five distinct classes became apparent at the time. There was the then-first generation, those Greeks who had arrived at the beginning of the century and had more or less succeeded in settling. The then-second generation were those who had integrated into Canadian society and were slightly more successful than their predecessors were. Then there were the elite, a small group of highly educated and highly successful Greeks who were well integrated into Canadian society and who essentially operated the *Koinitita*. The fourth class consisted of second wave immigrants who were small entrepreneurs with little education and little to no knowledge of either of Canada's

³⁵ Ibid., 22–23.

³⁶ Ibid., 26.

³⁷ Ibid., 49.

³⁸ Ibid., 53.

³⁹ Stefanos Kōnstantinidēs, *Les Grecs du Québec : analyse historique et sociologique* (Montréal: [Montréal] : Editions O Metoikos-Le métèque, 1983), 73.

official languages. Finally, the fifth class consisted of the labourers, who represented a large majority of Greeks in Montreal and were mostly from the post-war migratory wave.⁴⁰

With the community as a whole in turmoil and the classes found within it at odds with themselves, new associations began to appear that were more concerned with the welfare of Greek-Montrealers. The *Fédération des parents et tuteurs de Montréal* (Federation of Parents and Tutors of Montreal) was established in 1969 with the goal of providing Greek language and culture classes to the children of immigrants. Furthermore, the *Association des travailleurs grecs* (Greek Workers' Association) was established in 1970 to provide assistance and guidance to Greek workers who were exploited by their employers and did not know about their rights. Other regional communities, independent of the *Koinotita*, began to appear in this period as well, as there were Greeks now living in the suburbs, such as Laval and the West Island, and had decided to organize themselves.⁴¹

2.3 – The push and pull factors of Greek migration

Even before the massive post-war migratory wave out of Greece, there were still decent numbers of Greeks leaving the country from as far back as the 19th century. The country was suffering from a poor economy compared to the rest of Europe, and with Greece being a primarily agricultural country, those suffering the most were small farmers. The Greek agricultural sector was technologically behind and frequent flooding and droughts made it so that agricultural output was insufficient to the point where it became difficult to feed the population.⁴² The solution for many young people at the time was to emigrate, in the hopes of being able to make enough money outside of the country to be able to send to their families back home, and one day return.

Greece was one of the European countries that felt the effects of the post-war European emigration intensely and to great extent. While the figures are not entirely accurate and only serve as estimates, approximately 1.4 million Greeks left the country between 1945 and 1974. These figures are further skewed because there were no official statistics on record prior to 1955, and as such, the numbers for the years 1945 to 1954 are simply estimates. The peak of Greek emigration occurred in the 1960s, when an estimated 100,000 Greeks were leaving the country

⁴⁰ Ioannou, *La communauté grecque du Québec*, 30–31.

⁴¹ Kōnstantinidēs, *Les Grecs du Québec : analyse historique et sociologique*, 73–74.

⁴² Ioannou, *La communauté grecque du Québec*, 15.

per year.⁴³ This was followed by a return to more steady migration trends and even a return migration between 1968 and 1977, when approximately 238,000 Greeks returned to the country.⁴⁴

The post-war period in Greece was marked by social, economic, and political factors that all contributed in one way or another to the mass exodus of what was supposed to be the next generation of Greeks in the workforce. The most notable event to occur in this immediate post-war period is the Greek Civil War (1946-1949), which pitted the forces from the communist left against those of the nationalist right. Ideological differences were already present before the start of the civil war, but initial clashes between the two factions began shortly after the liberation of Greece from the Nazis in October of 1944. The conclusion of the civil war began a 20-year period marked by further political instability, slow economic progress, and a lack of social development. This culminated in a coup d'état in 1967, in which a military dictatorship replaced the constitutional government. Following a seven-year period known as the Rule of the Colonels, the dictatorship eventually fell in 1974. This was followed by the reinstatement of democratic rule in the country and the abolishment of the Hellenic monarchy.

Everything mentioned above contributed to the social, political, and economic problems that led to Greek emigration. By this time, Greek youth had become disillusioned by their prospects at home. They began looking for ways to leave in order to better themselves and help their families. Furthermore, because of the political instability of time, many Greeks had been persecuted and exiled from their home country.

With much of the country still primarily involved in the agricultural sector and living in rural areas, the first migrations were mostly from villages to big cities, such as Athens and Thessaloniki.⁴⁵ The situation in these cities was no better, as the former farmers lacked the education and the skills to make it in an already slowly industrializing country. Moving outside of the country was seen as the next viable solution.

⁴³ Rossetos Fakiolas and Russell King, "Emigration, Return, Immigration: A Review and Evaluation of Greece's Postwar Experience of International Migration," *International Journal of Population Geography* 2, no. 2 (June 1, 1996): 172, [https://doi.org/10.1002/\(SICI\)1099-1220\(199606\)2:2<171::AID-IJPG27>3.0.CO;2-2](https://doi.org/10.1002/(SICI)1099-1220(199606)2:2<171::AID-IJPG27>3.0.CO;2-2).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁴⁵ Ioannou, *La communauté grecque du Québec*, 16.

There were also many pull factors in international cities that lured Greeks to them at the time. Among them was the notion that cities outside of Greece were almost like heaven on earth and where work and money were plentiful. This turned out to be deceitful, as working and living conditions still proved difficult in their newly adopted homelands, but it was still better than what they had left behind. Another pull factor was that some people already had families in other countries, making it easier for them to immigrate via sponsorship. Additionally, a large cohort of young Greeks left the country after 1950 to pursue their studies abroad.⁴⁶

Two other factors also influenced Greek immigration to Canada, especially in the early part of the 20th century. Firstly, Canada was developing rapidly at the time and there was a shortage of labour. As such, the government “instituted a policy of importing cheap labour from Europe for economic development.”⁴⁷ This made it easier for people to enter the country and find work that was readily available. Secondly, as Canada was opening its borders to immigrants, the United States was imposing quotas on immigrants entering the country.⁴⁸ This meant that many people who had been hoping to immigrate to the United States would have to settle for living in Canada.

2.4 – Statistical overview of Greeks in Montreal

This section serves as a statistical context of Greek-Canadians living in Greater Montreal during the last census. In total, there were 66,645 ethnic origin⁴⁹ Greeks living in Greater Montreal at the time of the last census in 2016. Of these, 18,000 were Greek immigrants. The table below shows the breakdown in the four large regions that make up Greater Montreal.

Table 1 – Distribution of Greeks across Greater Montreal, 2016

Region	Immigrants	Ethnic origin Greeks
Montreal	10,415	35,905
Laval	5,930	20,390
North Shore	240	3,010
South Shore	1,415	7,160
Total	18,000	66,465

Source: Canadian Census Analyser, 2019

⁴⁶ Ibid.

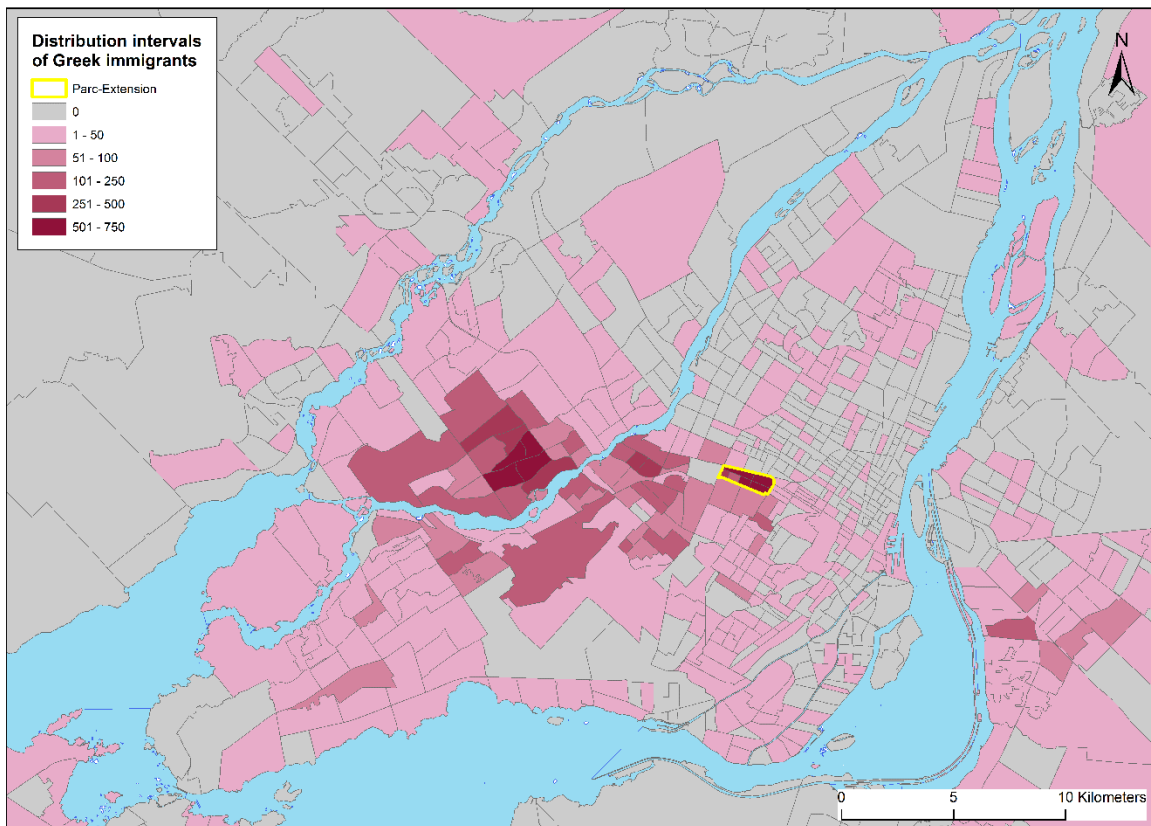
⁴⁷ Chimpos, *The Canadian Odyssey : The Greek Experience in Canada*, 24.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ethnic origin Greeks is an umbrella term that includes Canadians born of Greek descent, as well as Greek immigrants.

Of the 18,000 Greek immigrants living in Greater Montreal in 2016, 10,415 of them lived on the island of Montreal, with 2,880 of them living in Parc-Extension (highlighted in yellow in Maps 1 and 2 below). There were also high concentrations of Greek immigrants living in Ville-Saint-Laurent and part of the West Island. The census also shows that there was a very strong concentration of Greek immigrants living in Laval, particularly in the Chomedey area. Of the 5,930 Greek immigrants living in Laval, 2,600 of them were in the centre of Chomedey, accounting for almost half of the island's Greek immigrant population (43.8%). In the North and South Shores, these numbers dropped to 240 Greek immigrants in the North Shore and 1,415 in the South Shore. Map 1 below shows the distribution of Greek immigrants by census tract across Greater Montreal in 2016. Interestingly enough, these concentrations of Greek immigrants are on the western side of Saint-Laurent Boulevard, historically the divider between Montreal's English population to the west and its French population to the east.

Map 1 - Distribution of Greek immigrants across Greater Montreal, 2016

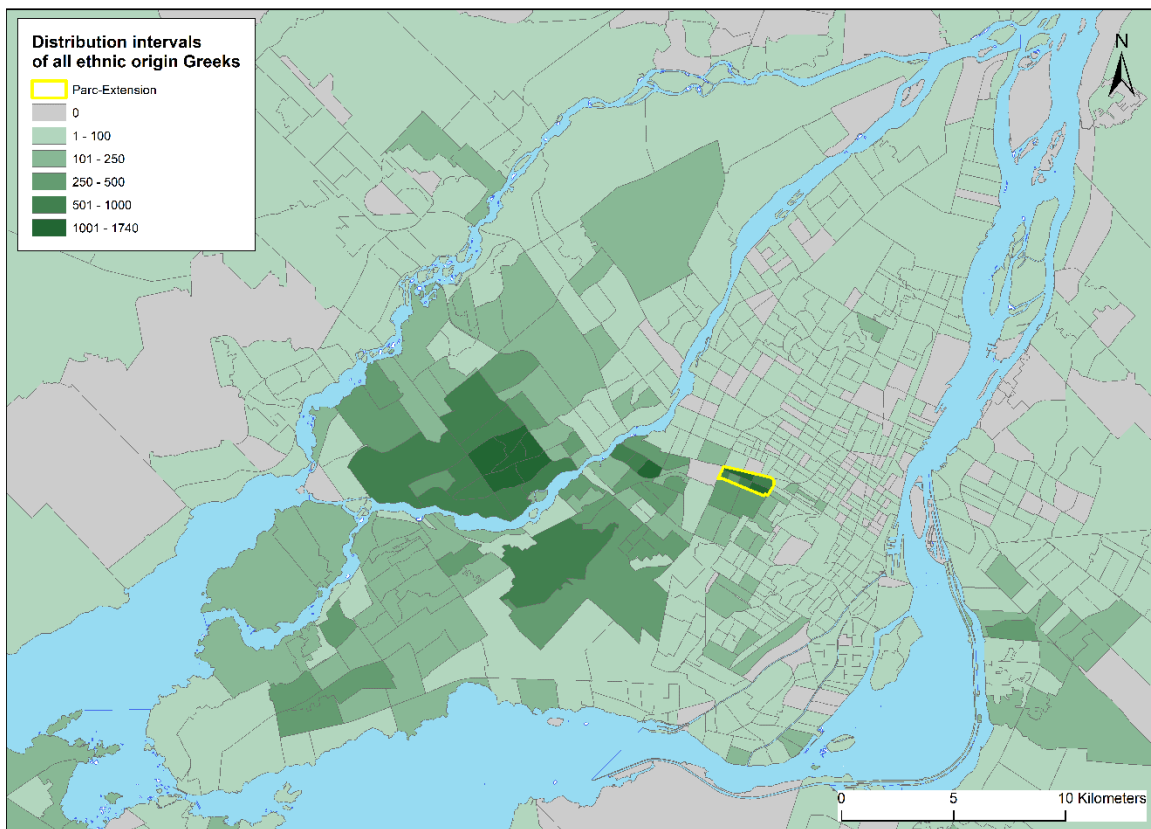


Source: Canadian Census Analyser, 2019 / Cartography: Athanasios Boutas, 2019

In terms of Canadian citizens of Greek ethnic origin, the island of Montreal counted 35,905 Greeks spread out across the island, with high concentrations Parc-Extension, Ville-Saint-Laurent, and a

decent amount of the West Island, including off-island suburbs such as Vaudreuil-Dorion. In Laval, among its 20,390 Greeks, over a third of them lived in the centre of Chomedey (7,840 accounting for approximately 38.4%). The rest were dispersed across the island, with decent-sized populations in places like Sainte-Dorothée, Fabreville, Sainte-Rose, Vimont, and Laval-des-Rapides. In the North Shore, once again, the Greek population was relatively small, with a count of 3,010, with most living in Blainville and Rosemère. In the South Shore, there were 7,160 Greeks living there, with the highest concentration in Brossard. Map 2 below shows the distribution of ethnic origin Greeks by census tract across Greater Montreal in 2016. Once again, this map also shows how Greek-Montrealers find themselves mostly on the western side of the island.

Map 2 - Distribution of ethnic origin Greeks across Greater Montreal, 2016



Source: Canadian Census Analyser, 2016 / Cartography: Athanasios Boutas, 2019

The statistics show that there are areas within Greater Montreal where there are strong concentrations of Greeks. This helps to place Greeks within the physical context of the metropolitan area. It is interesting to note where the concentrations are, both in terms of their actual locations, as well as within Montreal's linguistic landscape, with the Greeks siding primarily on the English side. Furthermore, the spread of the populations is interesting to note, as they

create axes from inner-city neighbourhoods like the Plateau and Parc-Extension towards the suburbs of the West Island, Ville-Saint-Laurent, and Laval.

Chapter 3 – Social dimensions of immigrant residential settlement across time

The understanding of how immigrant populations settle in cities is not something new in the social sciences. The topic has been revisited extensively over the last hundred years: it has changed over time as new perspectives and ways of understanding have emerged. From the early days of the Chicago School of Urban Sociology to the more modern schools of thought, the core has remained the same: immigrants arriving in a city experience a multitude of contrasted feelings and behaviours, leading them to some degree spatial and social adaptation as the generations pass. These processes are universal throughout time and space: an immigrant arriving in 19th-century Chicago and an immigrant arriving in 21st-century Montreal face the same challenges of settling and choosing what path to follow. They could choose to either assimilate into the host society or segregate themselves, or perhaps something in between. What changes are the circumstances surrounding them. These include the urban environment itself, the way society reacts to differences, and the socioeconomic landscape of the time. The understanding of the process, however, has just evolved with the times and with the ways in which social scientists keep on discovering new things about ways of living.

Researchers have explored the immigrant settlement and acclimatization processes from various perspectives. These include urban sociologists and geographers, anthropologists, and psychologists, with each contributing in their own way to the literature that has come to exist over time. This chapter will explore some of the literature that has existed over the last 50-60 years and how it has changed over that period with the way new ways of understanding have emerged. It will look at the settlement process through the different perspectives mentioned further above. Most notably, the main themes that will be explored will be that of assimilation, integration, marginalization, and segregation (AIMS), residential segregation, and multiculturalism and exposure to diversity.

Multiculturalism is generally understood to be the idea that “cultural pluralism or diversity”⁵⁰ can exist in a society, meaning that people from various ethnic groups can co-exist together and cohabit a common territory. In addition to this, a multicultural state can exist thanks to the way that immigrant ethnic groups interact with all aspects of the host society. Referred to as

⁵⁰ “Definition of MULTICULTURALISM,” accessed August 29, 2019, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/multiculturalism>.

acculturation strategies,⁵¹ these involve one of four ways in which ethnic groups could adapt – or not – into the host society: assimilation, integration, marginalization, or segregation (AIMS).⁵² These terms will be further explored and defined in the following chapter.

Early literature on assimilation and segregation was based mostly on the findings of the Chicago School of Urban Sociology. As such, Stanley Lieberson sought to explore the impact of residential segregation on certain aspects of immigrants' assimilation into North American society. He hypothesized that certain aspects of immigrants' ethnic assimilation to a host society are impacted by their residential segregation. His hypothesis was based on the findings of Amos H. Hawley, where there exists "a dual effect of residential segregation, that is both as a factor accenting the differences between groups by heightening their visibility and, secondly, as a factor enabling the population to keep its peculiar traits and group structure."⁵³ Using census data from 1930 and 1950 for 10 American cities, he looked at the relationship between residential segregation and immigrants' citizenship status, their tendency to intermarry, and their ability to speak English. He also considered occupational composition for first-generation immigrants and the native-born second-generation cohort.

He found that, while "Naturalization is by no means a perfect indicator of an individual's assimilation,"⁵⁴ it did indicate that immigrants who tended to acquire American citizenship showed a more positive attitude toward the host country than those who did not. In terms of intermarriage, he used an indicator of "the second generation whose parents are of mixed nativity, that is, one parent foreign born and one parent native."⁵⁵ He found that there was a strong relationship between immigrant segregation and natives, concluding that "the more segregated a foreign-born group, the more likely marriages are to occur between members of the same group."⁵⁶ Regarding ability to speak English, he suspected that "the larger the proportion of

⁵¹ John W. Berry and Colette Sabatier, "Acculturation, Discrimination, and Adaptation among Second Generation Immigrant Youth in Montreal and Paris," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 34, no. 3 (May 1, 2010): 191, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2009.11.007>.

⁵² Amelie F. Constant, Liliya Gataullina, and Klaus F. Zimmermann, "Ethnosizing Immigrants," *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 69, no. 3 (March 1, 2009): 277, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2008.10.005>.

⁵³ Stanley Lieberson, "The Impact of Residential Segregation on Ethnic Assimilation," *Social Forces* 40, no. 1 (October 1, 1961): 52, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2573470>.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 53.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 55.

a given immigrant group able to speak English, the smaller the proportion of the immigrant group who would be hampered or handicapped by language differences in their location near native whites.”⁵⁷ His results showed that was the case, and that the most segregated immigrant groups tended to be less capable of speaking English.

Lieberson suspected that “the nature of an ethnic group’s participation in the economy of a city is an extremely significant dimension of its adaptation to the new society.”⁵⁸ As such, the occupational composition of highly segregated immigrant groups would show to be much different from those of native whites, meaning less of an adaptation to the host society. A similar pattern was also observed when it came to intergenerational occupational composition, wherein sons would be more likely than not to follow in the occupational footsteps of their fathers. His results showed that “the more segregated an immigrant group, the greater the deviation from the general intergenerational occupational mobility that exist in our society.”⁵⁹

Lieberson’s conclusions were that understanding how immigrant residential segregation worked in America was highly indicative of the assimilation process of ethnic groups in the country. More importantly, he concluded “the magnitude of a group’s segregation appears to influence other aspects of the group’s assimilation,”⁶⁰ meaning that there was not one single way in which segregation affected an immigrant group’s assimilation process, and that it was more widespread than originally thought.

In a 1986 study, Wallace E. Lambert, Lambros Mermigis, and Donald M. Taylor used a sample size of 87 Greek-Canadian immigrants living in Montreal to test the validity of the multiculturalism hypothesis. The multiculturalism hypothesis is based on the idea that the appreciation of other cultures is based in part on the cultural well-being and security of one’s own culture, and is opposite to ethnocentrism, in which one group sees itself as being better than another is.⁶¹ This is opposite to the ethnocentric model, where “the more people value their group, the less they will value outgroups.”⁶² The authors hypothesized that Greek-Canadians would provide a different

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 56.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 57.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Wallace E Lambert, Lambros Mermigis, and Donald M Taylor, “Greek Canadians’ Attitudes toward Own Group and Other Canadian Ethnic Groups: A Test of the Multiculturalism Hypothesis,” *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science/Revue Canadienne Des Sciences Du Comportement* 18, no. 1 (1986): 35.

⁶² Ibid.

perspective on the multiculturalism hypothesis, given that they represent one of the “other” ethnic groups living in Canada, and as such would have different views when it came to how they view themselves, as well as others.

The results showed that Greek-Canadians believed that their Greek identities must be maintained. This resulted in “social pressure placed on Greek children to respect and adjust to a widespread parental desire to stay Greek and keep the Greek language alive.”⁶³ Furthermore, Greek-Canadians viewed themselves much more favourably than they viewed other Canadians, including native English and French Canadians, and other hyphenated Canadian groups such as Italian-Canadians and Portuguese-Canadians. Similar to the Lieberman study, this study showed similar results about Greek-Canadians’ acceptance of intermarriage: “Greek Canadians find it unacceptable to think of family marriage with any other group than Greeks,”⁶⁴ indicating a higher level of segregation among this cohort of immigrants.

The authors also found that the attributions that respondents made toward other ethnic groups was more of a representation of their own security variables, and not necessarily of others’ personal characteristics. In essence, “the more secure respondents feel about the economic and social standing of their own group, the more favourable are their social perceptions of other ethnic groups in Canada, and conversely, the less secure they feel about their own group, the less favourable are their perceptions of other groups.”⁶⁵ There were a few instances where personal characteristics played a role, specifically concerning religiosity and ethnocentrism, suggesting, “that a sense of security about one’s own culture may be based in part on a religious and ethnocentric ideology.”⁶⁶

Concerning the multiculturalism hypothesis and social distance ratings, the authors found that respondents’ ethnocentrism was at the core of their willingness to interact with other ethnic groups. The results indicated “that the *less* ethnocentric Greek-Canadian respondents are, the more willing they are to accept other ethnic groups as co-workers, neighbours, friends and family members, and vice versa,”⁶⁷ effectively validating the hypothesis in that regard.

⁶³ Ibid., 39.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 41.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 43.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 44.

In the end, the authors concluded that the feelings of security in terms of their culture and economic status that Greek-Canadians had were correlated with how they perceived other ethnic groups, but that it did not necessarily mean that they wanted to associate themselves with those other groups. Furthermore, and most importantly, they concluded that depending on how they felt about some personal variables, such as religiosity, ethnocentrism, and level of education, they would be more or less inclined to accept other ethnic groups. Lower levels of religiosity and ethnocentrism, as well as higher levels of education, usually meant that they were more open to accepting other groups. Another important conclusion was that Greek-Canadians had strong tendencies to reject assimilation and more of a willingness to maintain their culture and language in Canada.

In 2009, Amelie F. Constant, Liliya Gataullina, and Klaus F. Zimmermann conducted a study using the ethnosizer. The ethnosizer is a measure of an individual's ethnic identity based on a variety of criteria that then categorizes them into one of the four strategies mentioned further above: integration, assimilation, separation, or marginalization.

Their sample size consisted of 1,400 first-generation immigrants of various ages and ethnic and religious backgrounds living in Germany. The ethnosizer was based on five criteria that were deemed important to associating with German culture, as well as immigrants' culture of origin: language, culture, ethnic self-identification, ethnic interaction, and migration history.⁶⁸ These variables were then used in one-dimensional and two-dimensional ethnosizers, where the one-dimensional ethnosizer focused on immigrants' attachment to their home country and the two-dimensional ethnosizer focused on their attachment to both their home country and their adoptive country. The results showed that, in the case of both ethnosizers, there was always a stronger attachment on the part of immigrants to their societies of origin, with a tendency to, at the very least, segregate themselves or integrate, depending on what ethnic group was being tested.

Research on second-generation immigrant youth was conducted by John W. Berry and Colette Sabatier in Montreal and Paris. The purpose of this research was to understand the acculturation strategies that second generation youth employed in these cities and what the outcomes were. They studied 718 teenagers in total in both cities, of various ethnic groups, in different social

⁶⁸ Constant, Gataullina, and Zimmermann, "Ethnosizing Immigrants," 279.

settings and spaces, such as at home, at school, and in social networks. By crossing the traditional ways of acculturating (AIMS) with more advanced concepts, such as cultural maintenance and intercultural contact, they were able to create a two-dimensional conception of adaptation. The main variables of their study⁶⁹ were:

- 1) **Acculturation strategies:** referring to one of the four ways (AIMS) in which individuals can interact and behave in a host society.
- 2) **Cultural identity:** referring to the ways in which individuals relate to different cultural communities, specifically their own and that of the host society.
- 3) **Ethnic behaviour:** referring to the degree to which individuals maintain cultural and traditional elements of their ethnic origin.
- 4) **Perceived discrimination:** referring individuals' psychological and sociocultural levels of adaptation to a new society.
- 5) **Adaptation:** referring to one of two ways to adapt two acculturation, namely:
 - a. **Psychological adaptation**, which is how an individual feels (i.e. self-esteem), or;
 - b. **Sociocultural adaptation**, referring to how well an individual is able to function in society.

Using these variables, they hypothesized that the strategies employed by immigrant youth would be reflections of the immigration policies of the countries they were living in. That is to say that in Paris, young people would be more likely to assimilate, whereas in Montreal, they would be more inclined to integrate. They also suspected that the adaptation process would be more positive for youth seeking to integrate into the host society. Their final hypothesis was that youth seeking to integrate or to assimilate would experience less discrimination, and that those who would experience more discrimination would have poorer adaptation results.⁷⁰

The results showed that the more positive attitudes and experiences were in Montreal, where Montreal immigrant youth scored higher in acculturation strategies, ethnic identity, and ethnic behaviours and lower in perceived discrimination. Additionally, Montreal immigrant youth exhibited higher self-esteem than their Parisian counterparts did. While personal discrimination

⁶⁹ Berry and Sabatier, "Acculturation, Discrimination, and Adaptation among Second Generation Immigrant Youth in Montreal and Paris," 193–94.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 194.

scored low in both cities, there was a higher score of group discrimination in Paris than in Montreal.⁷¹

The authors' conclusions were that acculturation strategies were higher in Montreal, and consistent with the Canadian policy of multiculturalism. They also confirmed their hypothesis that immigrant youth in Montreal chose to integrate more and Parisian immigrant youth chose to assimilate more. They also concluded that there was no correlation between discrimination and retention of one's culture in Montreal, as opposed to Paris, where maintaining one's ethnic identity was viewed less positively.⁷²

A 2016 study conducted by Willem R. Boterman and Sako Musterd looked at Dutch citizens of various economic and ethnic backgrounds, seeking to understand how exposure to diversity worked in different settings. Specifically, these were the residential neighbourhood, the workplace, and in transport. Their survey included the five largest metropolitan areas in the Netherlands.

The encompassing variable of their study was diversity. Using the Herfindahl-index, they took nine income and ethnic categories to arrive to a diversity score. The higher the score was, the higher the diversity, and vice versa. Within this global diversity variable, three other variables were also considered: exposure to neighbourhood diversity, exposure to workplace diversity, and exposure to transport diversity. The authors proposed two hypotheses for this research. Firstly, that exposure to diversity in other spheres of life could be just as relevant as it is in the residential domain (the neighbourhood). That means that exposure to diversity in the workplace or in transport spaces is just as important as it is in the residential neighbourhood. Secondly, and oppositely to the first hypothesis, cocooning – that is to say non-exposure to diversity – in important domains of life, such as the three mentioned above, limits opportunities to better get to know and come close to each other.⁷³

In the end, the authors found that both income and ethnicity did indeed have effects on exposure diversity. They found that natives that fell within the low- and high-income groups were the least

⁷¹ Ibid., 197.

⁷² Ibid., 204–5.

⁷³ Willem R. Boterman and Sako Musterd, "Cocooning Urban Life: Exposure to Diversity in Neighbourhoods, Workplaces and Transport," *Cities* 59 (November 1, 2016): 140, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2015.10.018>.

exposed to diversity, whereas non-natives that fell within the low- and middle-income groups were much more exposed to diversity. Their results also indicated higher levels of exposure to diversity among women, who often worked in workplaces that were more diverse and closer to home, resulting in them having to take public transport more regularly. They also found that ethnicity had an effect on exposure to diversity, as certain non-Dutch citizens were more exposed to diversity in their neighbourhoods or workplaces, while others were also more exposed to diversity during their transits.⁷⁴ Level of education was another variable that stuck out as particularly interesting in their results, as those with higher levels of education were more likely to find themselves in professional environments that were more socially diverse. These results are indicative of different levels of integration and non-integration based on various dimensions, such as residential choice (for neighbourhood segregation), as well as professional opportunities (for workplace segregation) and physical mobility (for transportation segregation).

⁷⁴ Ibid., 144.

Chapter 4 – Critical perspective on people, places, and spaces in the immigrant experience

The theories that are behind the understanding of how immigrants settle and adapt in new cities have greatly changed throughout the last hundred years. New ways of understanding have emerged that have made it easier to determine what factors influence how immigrants settle and move around in cities and what paths they choose to take as a collective. The old theories of immigrant ghettoization and segregation have made way for newer ideas that revolve around mobility and accessibility within the city.

This chapter is broken down into three parts. The first part will look at the classical theories, dating from the early to late 20th century. Next, the second part will look at the more contemporary theories dating from about the start of the 21st century to today. Finally, the third part will explore the concept of lifestyles across time through the perspective of the immigrant experience.

4.1 – Classical theories

The beginning of the 20th century saw the rise of more scientific approaches being taken in fields of study outside of the natural sciences. As such, research in fields such as urbanism, sociology, and psychology were examined much more in depth and through greater scopes. This section will serve as an introduction to the works of classical schools and theorists, namely the Chicago School of Urban Sociology, Richard Thurnwald, and Walter Firey, and the influence their studies had on contemporary theories.

The research conducted by the Chicago School of Urban Sociology is pivotal because they were the first to examine the city thoroughly from an ecological perspective, viewing it as an ecosystem of its own. What will be important to look at here is the function that immigrants played in this ecosystem at the time, as well as the perception that the school had of them. Following that, an analysis of Richard Thurnwald's psychology of acculturation will further delve into the question of how people adapt and adjust to situations in which they feel unfamiliar. In the third part, Walter Firey's theories of sentiment and symbolism as ecological variables will revisit the question of the city as an ecosystem of the Chicago School, as well as the meanings that are attributed to places and spaces in the city by people.

4.1.1 – The Chicago School of Urban Sociology

Modern urban sociology traces its roots back to the first half of the 20th century. The Chicago School of Urban Sociology was the preeminent institution behind the push to understand the city from a new perspective. The scientists of the Chicago School viewed the city as more than just a collection of buildings connected by a road network and the people living in it. In the opening lines of their book *The City: Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment*, arguably one of the most influential works on urban sociology and understanding the city, Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess describe the city as “a product of nature, and particularly human nature.”⁷⁵ The city being viewed as a product of nature is an interpretation that is very much akin to it being like an ecosystem. As is the case with ecosystems, the scientists “were fascinated with the complexities of the urban community and the prospect of discovering patterns of regularity in its apparent confusion.”⁷⁶ One of these complexities involved immigrants trying to find their ways through the confusion of the city and create spaces of their own. Furthermore, this singles out how people, places, and spaces are integral elements of the city ecosystem.

It is herein where the first ideas of the immigrant and the city began to take shape. Park and Burgess identify the neighbourhood as “the basis of political control”⁷⁷ in which the most rudimentary forms of socialization occur, specifically “proximity and neighborly contact.”⁷⁸ The neighbourhood represents one of the basic units of interaction in the city, wherein are found elements such as houses, local stores and institutions, and parks, where connections between people and places are made, breeding what the authors call ‘local sentiment.’⁷⁹ Throughout their histories, neighbourhoods have undergone numerous changes, sometimes for the better and sometimes for the worse. As Park and Burgess point out: “[...] what may be called the normal neighbourhood sentiment has undergone many curious and interesting changes, and produced many unusual types of local communities. More than that, there are nascent neighbourhoods and [sic.] neighbourhoods in process of dissolution.”⁸⁰ This applies just as much to immigrant

⁷⁵ Ernest W. Burgess, Robert E. Park, and Roderick D. McKenzie, *The City*, Heritage of Sociology Series (University of Chicago Press, 1967), 1.

⁷⁶ Morris Janowitz, “Introduction,” in *The City*, by Ernest W. Burgess, Robert E. Park, and Roderick D. McKenzie, Heritage of Sociology Series (University of Chicago Press, 1967), viii.

⁷⁷ Burgess, Park, and McKenzie, *The City*, 7.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

populations as it does to native populations. The main difference between the two, however, is that the neighbourhoods of the native populations tend to be much more integrated into the fabric and the rhythm of the city, whereas those of the immigrant populations tend to be much more isolated. This shows that spaces are the creations and reflections of the people who are living in any given place, and that they can transform depending on the people that are living there.

The phenomena of assimilation and segregation represented an important dichotomy explored by the Chicago School. Writing in 2005, Ceri Peach simplified this idea of the Chicago School by stating that “High levels of segregation were equated with non-assimilation; low levels with high levels of assimilation.”⁸¹ Simply put, when an ethnic group exhibits lower levels of segregation, the result is higher levels of social integration, and thus, assimilation into the host society. The opposite also applies, where an ethnic group with higher levels of segregation will exhibit lower levels of social integration, and thus, non-assimilation. At the time of the Chicago School, assimilation or non-assimilation were explained through levels of residential segregation, and segregation was equated based on physical distance: “Physical and sentimental distances reinforce each other, and the influences of local distribution of the population participate with the influences of class and race in the evolution of the social organization.”⁸² This was used to justify the existence of ethnic ghettos and neighbourhoods, or ‘racial colonies,’ as was referred to by the authors of the time.⁸³

By exploring the phenomenon of assimilation, the Chicago School illustrated how there was a two-way exchange between the city and immigrant populations. From a sociological standpoint, the environment influenced the ways in which immigrants lived their lives – or what today would be called their lifestyles. This meant that the cities and the neighbourhoods that immigrants found themselves in had an important effect on how they lived their lives: arriving to a new place meant having to deal with new customs, new traditions, and new ways of living. It was very much a case of ‘out with the old, in with the new’ for these people. From an urban planning standpoint, those very same immigrants that found themselves in these new places were also often the bringers of

⁸¹ Ceri Peach, “The Ghetto and the Ethnic Enclave,” in *Desegregating the City: Ghettos, Enclaves, and Inequality*, ed. David P. Varady, SUNY Series in African American Studies (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2005), 32.

⁸² Burgess, Park, and McKenzie, *The City*, 10.

⁸³ Ibid.

change themselves. International migrations to cities, especially North American cities, often meant that there were changes to cities and neighbourhoods that followed: “In the course of time every section and quarter of the city takes on something of the character and qualities of its inhabitants. Each separate part of the city is inevitably stained with the peculiar sentiments of its population.”⁸⁴ Often, this is what distinguished an ethnic neighbourhood from a local one, and still does to a certain degree to this day.

Contrary to assimilation, and continuing from this early 20th-century perspective, however, is segregation. Once again, this is explained through the existence of ethnic ghettos and neighbourhoods. Many of the Chinatowns and Little Italies in existence today date back to the times when the first immigrants arrived. Segregated areas, such as ethnic neighbourhoods or ghettos, make for much more complicated forms of neighbourhoods. People who have something in common often inhabit them: for instance, they could be immigrants from the same nation or people who have similar vocations. The authors state that as cities change and evolve, they lose their senses of intimacy and closeness, but such is not the case in ethnic neighbourhoods due to their isolation; in fact, those feelings are further strengthened in these kinds of neighbourhoods because of the shared values of their inhabitants.⁸⁵ Thus, the ethnic neighbourhood becomes a place of reunion and gathering, providing comfort and security, for people of similar ethnic background that find themselves in foreign cities.

In all, the Chicago School presented an assimilationist model, summed up neatly by Robert E. Park in 1928 when he explained how an ethnic group integrates – or does not integrate – into a host society. Essentially, it came down to a four-step progression⁸⁶:

- 1) Immigration
- 2) Competition
- 3) Accommodation
- 4) Assimilation

⁸⁴ Ibid., 6.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 10.

⁸⁶ Robert E. Park, “Human Migration and the Marginal Man,” *American Journal of Sociology* 33, no. 6 (May 1928): 881–93.

This is still the dominant model even if recent modifications and refinements have occurred as social scientists have come to understand that the immigration and settlement processes are not all black and white: that there are a number of factors that play into how an immigrant group will adapt to a new society.

The Chicago School was also cognizant of the intergenerational changes that would come to exist for immigrant groups, as time would pass. While an ethnic population could have lived in a segregated community, subsequent generations, born and raised in the host society, would be more in tune with the social norms and ways of living of that society. This would result in a gradual breakdown and loss of traditional, ethnic norms and values across time: “Under these conditions the social ritual and the moral order which these immigrants brought with them from their native countries have succeeded in maintaining themselves for a considerable time under the influences of the American environment. Social control, based on the home mores, breaks down, however, in the second generation.”⁸⁷ Without fully isolating themselves from the host society, as few immigrant groups have done, there could only be so much that the first generation cohorts could do to try to maintain their heritage. They were aware of the influences that living in a foreign city had on immigrant populations, specifically with the descendants of these.

4.1.2 – Richard Thurnwald and the psychology of acculturation

Writing in 1932, Richard Thurnwald explained how “acculturation is a process, not an isolated event.”⁸⁸ Contrary to assimilation, acculturation is a “process of adaptation to new conditions in life,”⁸⁹ involving changes in the ways people understand and perceive things and behave toward them. This interpretation of acculturation can just as easily be applied to immigrants arriving to a new country, where the newcomers must adjust to the conditions of life that are presented to them in this new place.

According to Thurnwald, the process acculturation is very close to the process of learning, yet what distinguishes one from the other is that learning is an individual process, whereas acculturation is a social process.⁹⁰ Therefore, in the context of immigration, a collection of

⁸⁷ Burgess, Park, and McKenzie, *The City*, 27.

⁸⁸ Richard Thurnwald, “The Psychology of Acculturation,” *American Anthropologist* 34, no. 4 (1932): 557.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 559.

individuals with a common background each undergoing their own learning process in a new society are also acculturating to that society collectively.

What is most interesting about Thurnwald's theory on the psychology of acculturation is how much it applies to how immigrants settle in new environments. Very much like the Chicago School, Thurnwald understood that there were different stages involved in acculturating into a new society; he understood that there was a process to it. At first, there is "a stage of withdrawal from the unaccustomed."⁹¹ This is akin to immigrants often segregating themselves into ghettos upon arrival to a new city. It is only once there is a sense of acceptance within the host society that change can occur in the unaccustomed, in this case, the immigrant population. According to Thurnwald, there is "a wave of imitation, almost identification with the new or strange, [which] gradually inundates all traditions."⁹² This is similar to the observation made by the Chicago School, especially when it comes to the second-generation cohort of immigrants.

However, where acculturation differs from assimilation is in what is retained by those who have adapted to new ways of living. Thurnwald explains that there are "varieties and degrees of such loss of individuality. Often it is only the language, the political organization, or the social structure that is destroyed."⁹³ This differs from assimilation, where nearly all traces of the heritage of origin are lost, and resembles more closely to integration, where some ethnic characteristics are retained while also having some from the host society.

4.1.3 – Walter Firey and sentiment and symbolism in the city

In contrast to the work done by the Chicago School, Walter Firey argued in 1944 that the theories of the city at the time were narrow in the fact that they focused on places solely for their economic value within cities. He recommended two alterations to the way places in cities could be understood. The first was by "ascribing to space not only an impeditive quality but also an additional property, viz., that of being at times a symbol for certain cultural values that have become associated with a certain spatial area."⁹⁴ This property is especially important when considering how immigrants shape their neighbourhoods around them by attributing meaning or

⁹¹ Ibid., 563.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Walter Firey, "Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Variables," *American Sociological Review* 10, no. 2 (1945): 140, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2085629>.

value to places that may not mean much to locals. The second was to “recognize that locational activities are not only economizing agents but may also bear sentiments which can significantly influence the locational process.”⁹⁵ Again, this brings to light the fact that, by settling in one place, immigrant communities give meaning to places, creating spaces which influence how they move – or not – within the city.

Using examples from three different neighbourhoods in Boston, Firey was able to illustrate his points. Specifically, the example of the Italian community living in Boston’s North End showed the different moving parts in this theory. Throughout time, the North End had come to be associated with Boston’s Italian community for years, but by the time he was writing this article, an important change had begun to manifest itself: the neighbourhood’s Italian population had begun to decline. This is mostly because second-generation Italian-Americans born in Boston were assimilating into American society and leaving the North End. According to him, “this decline tends to be selective in its incidence upon residents and that this selectivity may manifest varying degrees of identification with immigrant values. For residence within a ghetto is more than a matter of spatial placement; it generally signifies acceptance of immigrant values and participation in immigrant institutions. In spite of this, however, the neighbourhood still maintained its characteristics and values as an Italian neighbourhood.”⁹⁶ This brings to light two things: first, those second-generation Italian-Americans were identifying less with their Italian heritage, and second, the Italian neighbourhood was more than what its economic status made it out to be; there was a cultural value attributed to it that made it Italian.

It was interesting to Firey that the younger generation was emigrating from the neighbourhood, the very place where Italian values and culture were at the forefront. He perceived their exit “as both a cause and a symbol of alienation from these [Italian] values.”⁹⁷ In short, the children of Italian immigrants were becoming less Italian and more American. Traditionally, the Italian value system was centred on the family and the *‘paesani*,⁹⁸ and these were firmly entrenched within the limits of the North End.⁹⁹ These are part of what gave meaning and symbolism to the

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 146.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 147.

⁹⁸ *Paesani* is an Italian word meaning “countrymen” or “compatriots”.

⁹⁹ Firey, “Sentiment and Symbolism as Ecological Variables,” 147.

neighbourhood for Boston's Italian community: there was a social proximity within the community and extended families often lived in common residences (multigenerational homes).

However, as true as this was for the older generation of Italian-Americans, the younger generation which had been born and raised in Boston, identified less with the heritage and values of their parents and more with those of the host society. If anything, they viewed themselves first as Americans, then as Italians. Firey described the second generation as being "capable of making the transition to another value system with radically different values and goals."¹⁰⁰ This falls very much under the assimilationist theory, but with different factors influencing it, namely cultural and societal factors, rather than economical ones.

In arriving to the contemporary theories, it is important to remember that the Chicago School put forth the notion that mobility was more than just a phenomenon of physical displacement. The explanation is that "mobility in an individual or in a population is measured, not merely by change of location but rather by the number and variety of the stimulations to which the individual or the population responds. Mobility depends, not merely upon transportation, but upon communication. Education and the ability to read, the extension of the money economy to an ever-increasing number of the interests of life, in so far as it has tended to depersonalize social relations, has at the same time vastly increased the mobility of modern peoples."¹⁰¹ All this ties in to the contrast between social and physical mobilities, and the ways in which individuals could move up or down the social ladder instead of around space. Naturally, if an immigrant group were to assimilate, they would be much more capable of moving up the social ladder of the society they have arrived to, and vice versa. The understanding that physical mobility, while present, was not emphasized as much. Yet, it is through their findings that a better understanding of physical mobility did eventually emerge.

4.2 – Contemporary theories

By the later part of the twentieth century, the world had changed enough so that many of the older, classical theories were being questioned and re-examined. New perspectives and avenues of thought in the social sciences made it so that the classical school and theories could, at the very least, be seen as starting points for what was to come.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 148.

¹⁰¹ Burgess, Park, and McKenzie, *The City*, 17.

These contemporary theories in no way negated what was previously said in over a century of research. Instead, they have come to add to the already existing literature and provide more in-depth analysis and understanding of the phenomena that have been occurring in cities recently. As cities and people have evolved, so have the ways in which they co-exist with one another, and this has provided researchers with different ways of understanding the forces at work in such instances.

4.2.1 – John Berry and the theory of acculturation

Very much as Richard Thurnwald saw acculturation as a process in the 1930s, John W. Berry saw it as a variety of adaptation. He revisited the idea of acculturation through an amalgam of different theories dating back to the 1930s and come up with four features of it, broken down as follows:

- **Nature:** the nature of acculturation requires contact between two cultural groups and change in one of them resulting from that contact. Usually the change is the result of one of the groups being more culturally dominant than the other one is.
- **Course:** acculturation takes place over three phases, namely contact, conflict, and adaptation. Contact is the primary step of acculturation and occurs when two cultural groups meet. Conflict will occur in instances where there is resistance to change by one of the groups. Adaptation involves arriving to a resolution in the conflict.
- **Level:** acculturation is a two-level phenomenon, occurring at either the group level or the individual level. The three phases described above affect individuals and groups in different manners.
- **Measurement:** A measurement of the three phases of the course of acculturation at both the individual and group levels.¹⁰²

Together, these form the basis of what acculturation has come to be known as, as they have helped to gain a better understanding of what exactly happens when two cultures interact. The above four features are especially true when it comes to understanding how each of the above

¹⁰² John W. Berry, "Acculturation as Varieties of Adaptation," in *Acculturation: Theory, Models and Some New Findings*, ed. Amado M. Padilla (Boulder, Colo.: Boulder, Colo. : Published by Westview Press for the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1980), 10–12.

four features applied to the arrival and settlement of the first generation of Greek-Montrealers and the paths they chose to follow.

4.2.2 – Assimilation, integration, marginalization, segregation (AIMS)

When people emigrate from one place to another, they are transplanting everything about themselves to a completely new environment. In doing so, they often expose themselves to new landscapes, new cultures, and new ways of living. They must learn to adapt to their new environments and make one of two major choices: either to maintain their cultural heritage and identity, or to involve themselves in the host society.¹⁰³ Once again, this goes back to what Berry and Sabatier referred to as “acculturation strategies.”¹⁰⁴ They have also been referred to in other literature as states,¹⁰⁵ paths,¹⁰⁶ or sectors.¹⁰⁷ In order, these are: assimilation, integration, marginalization, and separation (AIMS).¹⁰⁸ These four strategies are paramount to the immigrant experience, no matter the place or time, as they influence just how society will function in terms of immigration and emigration, cohabitation, and policymaking.

Assimilation is described as the process in which “individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural heritage and seek daily participation with other cultures in the larger society.”¹⁰⁹ In this instance, immigrants phase out aspects of their own culture and the place they came from while taking part in the everyday activities and traditions of the host society. In terms of the AIMS concept, it is at the one extreme of the spectrum.

Integration, on the other hand, is a much more moderate form of acculturation. Berry and Sabatier define it as “an interest in both maintaining one’s original culture and interacting with other groups.”¹¹⁰ In this instance, a balance is struck between two lives. The immigrants will keep

¹⁰³ John W. Berry et al., “Immigrant Youth: Acculturation, Identity, and Adaptation,” *Applied Psychology* 55, no. 3 (July 1, 2006): 306, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.2006.00256.x>.

¹⁰⁴ Berry and Sabatier, “Acculturation, Discrimination, and Adaptation among Second Generation Immigrant Youth in Montreal and Paris,” 191.

¹⁰⁵ Constant, Gataullina, and Zimmermann, “Ethnosizing Immigrants,” 277.

¹⁰⁶ Berry and Sabatier, “Acculturation, Discrimination, and Adaptation among Second Generation Immigrant Youth in Montreal and Paris,” 191.

¹⁰⁷ Berry et al., “Immigrant Youth: Acculturation, Identity, and Adaptation,” 306.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*; Berry and Sabatier, “Acculturation, Discrimination, and Adaptation among Second Generation Immigrant Youth in Montreal and Paris,” 191; Constant, Gataullina, and Zimmermann, “Ethnosizing Immigrants,” 277.

¹⁰⁹ Berry and Sabatier, “Acculturation, Discrimination, and Adaptation among Second Generation Immigrant Youth in Montreal and Paris,” 193.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

aspects of their ethnicity, such as traditions, faith, and culture, while at the same time experiencing all that their new home has to offer. This involves learning the language of the host society, following pop culture or sports teams, and interacting with locals.

In sharp contrast to the integration strategy is **marginalization**. Marginalization represents the instances in which “there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of enforced cultural loss), and little interest in having relations with other groups (often for reasons of discrimination).”¹¹¹ This strategy is representative of those who have no interest in maintaining their own cultural traits by forcefully eliminating them, but also show no interest in blending with the host society.

Where assimilation is the voluntary and complete integration of an immigrant individual or group into a host society, **separation** is the opposite of that. It is the strategy in which “ethnocultural group members place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others.”¹¹² The immigrants who pursue this strategy often ghettoize themselves forcefully in order to maintain their cultural traits, resulting in as little interaction as possible with members of the host society.

Whichever of these strategies an individual or group chooses, there is no right or wrong way to acculturate into a host society.

4.2.3 – Segregation and mobility

For the longest time, the classical theories and interpretations of assimilation and segregation defined urban and sociological studies since the 1920s. More recently, however, researchers have come to understand that it goes beyond just the physical limitations of spaces and places that define these concepts. Developments such as urban regeneration initiatives, increased mobility, and perspectives centred on lifestyles have contributed to new perspectives on how people assimilate or segregate themselves in society.

Bart Wissink, Tim Schwanen, and Ronald van Kempen brought up the fact that the study of segregation has often been through that of an American perspective, often associated with negative connotations, and through the idea that “residential location is crucial and sufficient in

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

understanding the intersections between space and inequality.”¹¹³ This led them to suggest that, other than residential choice, there must be other ways in which urban segregation could be created, be it through daily activities, social networks, or mobility, and whether or not these contributed to increased exposure to social difference and opportunities for social mobility.

Recently, there have been two new developments in understanding how residential segregation works: urban regeneration projects and increased mobility. The urban regeneration projects, often led and funded by the state and business, have created new types of “‘premium’ infrastructures linking up and privileging selective sites – typically those where elites live, work and consumed – and have radicalized the socio-spatial fragmentation of cities.”¹¹⁴ These environments have created a new kind of segregation where those who could afford it are able to separate themselves from the rest thanks to the networks they have created. In this case, “connectivity rather than physical proximity has become the crucial factor,”¹¹⁵ as those who cannot afford to be a part of the network become segregated by circumstances rather than by choice.

In terms of mobility, “over the last decades people have become increasingly mobile, on average travelling more frequently and over longer distances.”¹¹⁶ While the classical theorists talked mostly about social mobility, new computer and GPS technologies have made it possible to understand physical mobility within the city. This has been aided through new transportation technologies, giving people greater accessibility, frequency, and reach than ever before. However, this increase in mobility is not necessarily spread evenly across the urban landscape, as the “opportunities and capabilities to fulfill mobility needs are increasingly unequal, as the increased speed and spatial extension in the movements of certain groups is often enabled by the immobilization of others.”¹¹⁷ As such, the traditional neighbourhood retains its importance to a certain degree in this new kind of environment that is developing.

Ngai Ming Yip, Ray Forrest, and Shi Xian also touched on this, stating that “changes in the morphology and functionality of post-industrial cities have transformed the residential

¹¹³ Bart Wissink, Tim Schwanen, and Ronald van Kempen, “Beyond Residential Segregation: Introduction,” *Cities* 59 (November 1, 2016): 126, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2016.08.010>.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 127.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

neighbourhoods and consequently the impact of the neighbourhood on social segregation.”¹¹⁸ This goes back to the development of the new kind of segregation created by those who could afford it and the development of newer transportation technologies that have increased mobility recently. As such, this “new paradigm of mobilities”¹¹⁹ has made it so that “the relationship between the social dimension of the city and its physical dimension is therefore argued to be changing fundamentally.”¹²⁰ Therefore, the ways in which people act and interact in the city are no longer what they used to be – or at the very least, no longer understood to be the way it used to be – due to the creation of new spaces and increased physical mobility.

4.3 – Lifestyles as a key concept for analyzing the immigrant experience

The writers of the Chicago School understood that the city was more than just what was comprised in its physical form. While not outwardly stating it, the idea that lifestyles – ways of living – played a role in the daily life of the city was something that they acknowledged: “the city is rooted in the habits and customs of the people who inhabit it.”¹²¹ The city, as an ecosystem, also represented multiple ways of living, including those of the immigrants who inhabited it. Thus, ethnic ghettos could be described as more than just the immigrant population living in them; they also represented entire ways of living that were brought over from other places, and visible through the ways in which social interactions took place in these. This is especially important when considering that these interactions among people, gathering at certain places, resulted in the creation of identifiable, ethnic spaces in the city.

Thurnwald also touched on this briefly, when describing the shared experiences between an immigrant group and locals. The changes in lifestyle are twofold: for the former the manifest in the “social and personal factors which arise from making a home in a new soil”¹²² whereas for the latter, they “did not so much change [their] habitat as [their] mode of living.”¹²³ By contextualizing these statements to the experiences of immigrants arriving from Europe to North America for the

¹¹⁸ Ngai Ming Yip, Ray Forrest, and Shi Xian, “Exploring Segregation and Mobilities: Application of an Activity Tracking App on Mobile Phone,” *Cities* 59 (November 1, 2016): 157, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2016.02.003>.

¹¹⁹ John Urry, *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century*, International Library of Sociology (Routledge, 2000).

¹²⁰ Yip, Forrest, and Xian, “Exploring Segregation and Mobilities: Application of an Activity Tracking App on Mobile Phone,” 157.

¹²¹ Burgess, Park, and McKenzie, *The City*, 4.

¹²² Thurnwald, “The Psychology of Acculturation,” 558.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

first time, the argument can be made that the modes of living – the lifestyles – of the local populations and the immigrant populations alike were changed with the arrival of the latter. They brought with them the old ways of living that they knew from Europe and essentially mixed them with the new ways of living they would come to discover in North America.

The notion that lifestyles play an important role in the day-to-day lives of citizens – whether they be locals or immigrants – has become increasingly complex with the passing of time. A reason for this is due to an increase in mobility that has changed the way society functions. Apart from an increase in terms of physical mobility, there has also been the emergence of virtual mobility. Yip, Forrest, and Xian bring up the point that “social relationships are being redefined with the increased mobility of goods, capital, people and ideas which involve not just physical but also virtual movements.”¹²⁴ These changes have given people new ways of moving and creating new, virtual spaces, sometimes without even having to move physically. Consequently, it has affected lifestyles in the sense that the meaning a place or space used to have in the past has effectively changed, especially with the creation of virtual spaces. For example, one of the authors’ conclusions is that “the home neighborhood appears not to be an important site for more general forms of social interactions.”¹²⁵ This shows that there has been a change in peoples’ lifestyles when it comes to their perceptions of places that have traditionally been viewed as “home.” The same can just as easily apply to a variety of other places, such as social spaces, workspaces, and places of consumption, to list a few.

Wissink, Schwanen, and van Kempen mention that there was an initial hope that increased mobility would lead to changes in lifestyles, making them more cosmopolitan and diverse, but that the reality has been that “mobility is not increasing in the same way for everybody.”¹²⁶ In consequence, public encounters have been uneven, to the point that they “do not result in cosmopolitan lifestyles, civic cultures, and community cohesion.”¹²⁷ This is another effect of increased mobility on lifestyles, especially when it pertains to immigrant groups. By not having the same mobility opportunities as locals, their lifestyles are affected in the sense that it is their mobility – or lack thereof – that influences how they live their lives. This is as true for first-

¹²⁴ Yip, Forrest, and Xian, “Exploring Segregation and Mobilities: Application of an Activity Tracking App on Mobile Phone,” 157.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 161.

¹²⁶ Wissink, Schwanen, and van Kempen, “Beyond Residential Segregation: Introduction,” 127.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

generation immigrants today as it has been for those in the past, but not necessarily the case for their second and third-generation offspring.

In conclusion, going through the theories that have been developed over the last century has led to better understanding and defining each of the three dimensions presented in this thesis. The early theories laid the groundwork for what was to come, by establishing that cities were ecosystems set in a physical territory and in which there were interactions occurring between different parts of them. Additionally, some of these early theories also looked at how people interact with their environments from different perspectives, such as those arriving to a new city and having to acculturate in one way or another. The more modern theories essentially took what the early theories were saying and expanded on them with different variables. These have permitted for a better understanding of what each of the three dimensions of this thesis are:

- **People:** They live in the city and occupy different places in it (neighborhood, borough, workplace, etc...) by moving around. They create spaces by attributing meanings or values to places based on their individual or shared experiences with others.
- **Places:** These are the physical locations found within the city and can range in size, from as large as the city itself to as small as a street within a neighborhood. People live and gather in places for different purposes.
- **Spaces:** These are created when people who have something in common go to a place and attribute meanings or values to them. Among those commonalities could be shared ethnic heritage (culture, language, faith) or experiences. Recently, these have come to include virtual spaces, which are those that are not necessarily entrenched in a physical space, such as online communities.

What these dimensions represent will structure the rest of this thesis and serve as the basis for the research and discussion.

Chapter 5 – Research strategy and methodology

In order to answer the question presented in Chapter 1, each of the three dimensions listed (people, places, and spaces) in the previous chapter must be determined with regards to this research project. The people, in this case, are Greek-Montrealers spread across three generations with one commonality: their shared heritage. Apart from being the participants of the research, this dimension also includes those with which they have made connections with and maintained relationships with throughout their lives. The place is the Greater Montreal Area: while the city – what it is, what constitutes it, and what it represents – changes across time, many of its physical limitations and characteristics remain the same. Yet again, however, there are a number of places found within it: these include the different cities, the boroughs and municipalities, and the neighborhoods. Additionally, it also includes the places that people go to, such as their jobs or schools and places of culture, consumption, or worship. Finally, the spaces are what is created when people go to places and attribute value or meaning to them through other people they meet there or shared experiences. These are found in the places that they visit and include the various regional associations that exist or smaller communities within the larger Hellenic community of Montreal. Additionally, the fact that there are three generations that are being analyzed should also be taken into account as an extra dimension. With three distinct periods of roughly 20 years each, there is a relatively quick turnaround from one generation to the next.

5.1 – Generational perspective

In a study such as this one, where people of different generations are involved, it is important to set clear distinctions as to what is the generational composition of the participants. Determining the divisions of different generations is often a confusing task as it is not as clear-cut as it would seem. According to Stavros T. Constantinou, the consensus is that the first generation consists of the foreign-born immigrants, their children make up the second generation, and their grandchildren make up the third generation.¹²⁸ This is the simplest breakdown of generational composition, without taking into consideration children born of parents who themselves are from different generations, or those born of mixed marriage.

¹²⁸ Stavros T. Constantinou, “Profiles of Greek Americans,” in *Geographical Identities of Ethnic America : Race, Space, and Place*, ed. Kate A. Berry and Martha L. Henderson (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2002), 92–115.

Statistics Canada has a similar generational breakdown when it comes to immigrants and their children. Each generation is clearly distinguished from the other: “[The] **first generation** refers to people who were born outside Canada, [... the] **second generation** includes individuals who were born in Canada and had at least one parent born outside Canada, [... and the] **third generation and more** refers to people who are born in Canada with both parents born in Canada.”¹²⁹

With that in mind, the generational composition for this thesis will be broken down as follows:

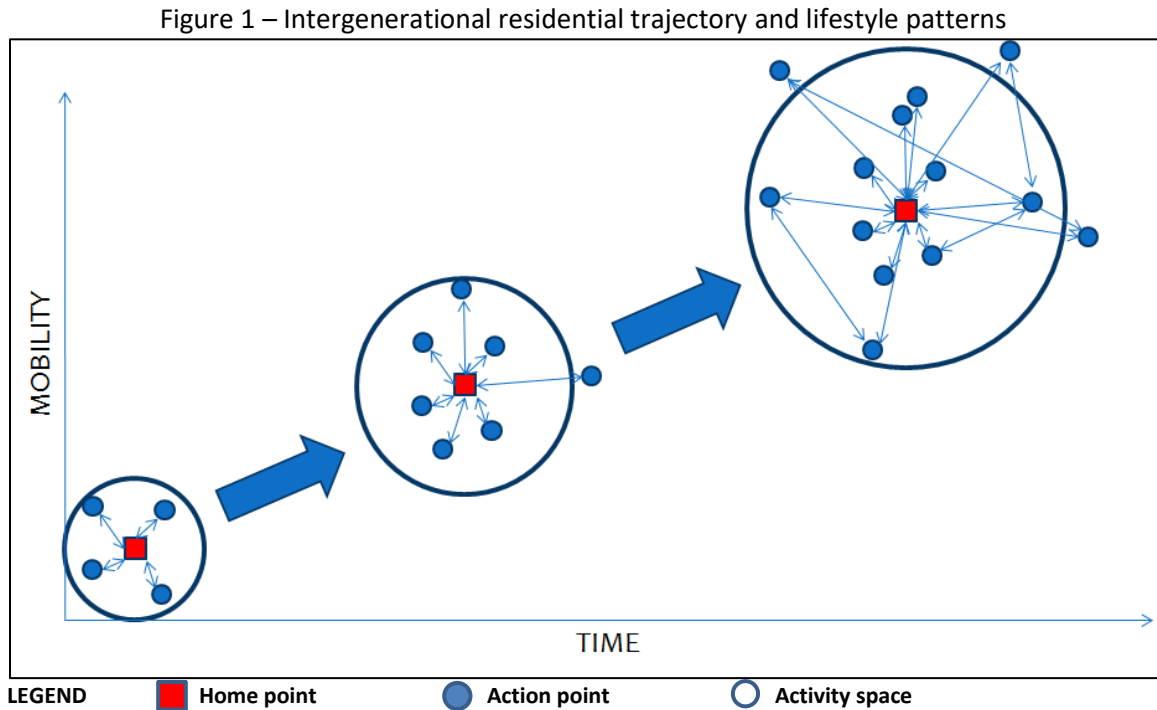
- **First generation:** individuals born in Greece and immigrated to Canada sometime before 1970;
- **Second generation:** individuals born in Canada to two parents who have immigrated to Canada from Greece; usually born between 1960 and 1980;
- **Third generation:** individuals born in Canada to at least one parent of Greek origin also born in Canada to parents who have immigrated to Canada from Greece; usually born between 1980 and 2000.

This breakdown is simple in that it clearly distinguishes roughly where each generation begins and ends, as well as the criteria necessary in order to recruit participants. The most important element in all this, however, is that both parents are Greek, to ensure there is no intercultural mixing that could affect the results (such as having two distinct ethnic identities).

¹²⁹ “Generation Status: Canadian-Born Children of Immigrants,” *National Household Survey (NHS)*, NHS in Brief, no. 99 (2011): 3.

5.2 – Stages of migration, residential mobility, and lifestyle evolution

Based on the literature presented in Chapter 3 and the theories in Chapter 4, a simple illustration of the residential trajectory patterns of immigrants and their offspring throughout time can be drawn out as shown in Figure 1 below.



In this graph, the x-axis represents time and the y-axis represents mobility through urban space. Therefore, as time progresses, mobility increases. This is due to advancements in transportation technology (physical mobility) and increased opportunities for success with each passing generation (social mobility). Furthermore, as the graph illustrates, each generation has a home point (in red) and action points (work, school, shopping, activities, etc. - in blue) that they frequent. Together, these form an action space around the home. Because the first generation of immigrants was limited both in opportunities to move around the city and to succeed professionally (least physically and socially mobile), their action spaces are generally small and restrictive, with not too many points. The second generation, born in the city their parents immigrated to – and therefore somewhat integrated into the host society – have more opportunities to move around and to succeed professionally than their parents did (moderately physically and socially mobile). The third generation, as shown by the graph above, has the most mobility in the city and the most opportunity to succeed because they are born in the host society

and are further integrated than their parents (most physically and socially mobile). Part of this model is based off the AIMS theory, in that the more time passes, there exists the possibility that subsequent generations will integrate or assimilate into the host society. Additionally, it is also partly based on the fact that people do indeed become more mobile as time passes (increased travel frequency and distance). Additionally, there are similarities between this model and the way that Firey described the evolution of the North End's Italian community back in the 1940s.

5.3 – Methodology

As stated in Chapter 1, the main goal of this thesis is to determine how each generation of Greek-Canadians has adapted to and become influenced by the host society with regards to their residential trajectories and lifestyles. The hypothesis is that, as time passed, each generation would either integrate or assimilate more and more into the host society, due to an increase in mobility and resulting in an increase in the sizes of their action spaces, which would lead to changes in lifestyles and experiences. For instance, somebody could be assimilated and living a fully North American lifestyle in a traditional immigrant, inner-city neighbourhood with little or no attachment to their heritage. On the other hand, an integrated person could be living in a North American suburb, but their lifestyle could be much more integrated, where there is a mix of North American and ethnic activities and ethnic self-identification. In order to explore the hypothesis, participants answered a series of questions in interview format that detailed their experiences as Greek-Montrealers, as well as outlined their residential trajectories and different activities throughout time. These would then be explored through the scope of the three different dimensions mentioned previously, namely places, spaces, and people. By looking at participants' experiences in the city through the lenses of mobility and lifestyles, this will allow to get a better idea of the levels of assimilation and integration as they pertain to places, spaces, and people. As such, each participant will either be more or less assimilated or integrated when it comes to each of criteria.

This study was based primarily on a qualitative methodological approach, accomplished using questionnaires and mapping. The reason a qualitative approach was taken was due to the small sample size of participants involved and how the goal was to understand how their experiences either correspond with or oppose the ways in which theories relating to acculturation and mobility have evolved over time. The best way to determine this was to have them answer questions about their life trajectories and then compare them with each other. The use of maps would further

help with visually showing how these experiences are lived by each generation. There were also a few elements of quantitative research involved in this project, specifically the use of statistics on the residential location of Greeks in the city. These were mostly used to provide context and to place Greeks within the metropolitan area of Montreal through different chronological periods since the late 1950s.

In order to begin conducting the research, the questionnaires first had to be created. It was established early on that three different questionnaires were going to be created: one for each generation. The reason for this was that the experiences of each generation were going to be different from one another. The questionnaires themselves were inspired by a similar study done in 2014-2017,¹³⁰ in which recent immigrants of different backgrounds were interviewed about their residential trajectories in Montreal. The questionnaires were broken down into six parts, as shown in the table below (Table 2).

Table 2 – Breakdown of questionnaire sections

	First generation	Second generation	Third generation
Part 1	The migratory “project”: Why leave?	The early days: Growing up Greek	The early days: Growing up Greek
Part 2	Acclimatization: Arriving and discovering	Coming of age: Greek youth in Canada	Coming of age: Greek youth in Canada
Part 3	Settling in: Residential trajectory and daily life	Settling in: Residential trajectory and daily life	Settling in: Residential trajectory and daily life
Part 4	Identities in flux: Here and there	Identities in flux: Here and there	Identities in flux: Here and there
Part 5	From the migratory project to the life project: Places and links	The life project: Places and links	The life project: Places and links
Part 6	Interviewee’s profile	Interviewee’s profile	Interviewee’s profile

Source: Athanasios Boutas, 2019

The questions in the first part differed between the first, second, and third generations. For the first generation, Part 1 looked at the preparations the respondents took prior to departing, what they knew about Montreal before arriving and their actual arrival to the city. For the second and

¹³⁰ Sébastien Lord, “Continuités, ruptures et transformations de l’expérience résidentielle : (Re)Construire un chez-soi dans le contexte de l’immigration internationale à Montréal.” Subvention de recherche (Québec: Fonds de recherche Québec – Société et culture, 2014-2017).

third generations, this part looked at what were the earliest places they could remember visiting while growing up in Montreal.

Part 2 was also different for the first generation compared to the second and third generations. For the first generation, Part 2 asked questions about the respondents' discovery of Montreal as they were settling in following their arrival, as well as the places associated with their period of acclimatization to their new place of residence. For the second and third generations, Part 2 involved a discussion of the places they visited as they were coming of age in their teenage and young adult years.

Part 3 was almost identical for all three generations: it looked at their residential trajectories across their lifetimes. For the first generation, this focused on the dwelling for which they signed their first lease or mortgage, the dwelling they lived in before moving into the seniors' residence, and their current dwelling in the residence. In only one instance did the respondent not live in the residence. For the second and third generations, the three dwellings chosen were the dwelling where they were born in, the dwelling they first moved out to, and their current dwelling. In some cases, all three or the last two were the same. In such instances, the breakdown of their daily activities involved different stages of life rather than different dwellings. In cases where they had not moved from the dwelling in which they were born in, the breakdown of their daily activities involved different stages of life: their early years (from birth to the end of elementary school), their teenage years (their high school years) and the present day.

The next three parts were nearly identical for all three generations. Part 4 asked respondents about connections they had made with the Greek community in Montreal, as well as about connections that were kept or made with Greece. Part 5 explored the places that stuck with respondents the most throughout their lifetimes. These included places from both Montreal and Greek-Montreal perspectives, as well as the respondents' neighbourhoods. There were also affirmations that the respondents had to make in order to see where there was a closer attachment to: their Montreal life or their Greek life. Finally, Part 6 briefly profiled the respondents for statistical purposes.

Next, participants had to be recruited in order to answer the questions. The recruiting process began with compiling a list of the different Greek regional associations that exist in the Greater Montreal Area. To ensure objectivity, any regional associations to which the researcher had

potential personal or familial ties were excluded from the list. This ensured that the people being interviewed would be complete strangers. Each association was visited at least once in order to gauge the interest of potential participants. In the end, participants were recruited from three of the visited associations: the Cretans Association of Canada, the Zakynthian Association, and the Messinian Association of Canada. Additionally, first generation participants were recruited from a seniors' residence in Parc-Extension, the Father-Nicholas-Salamis residence. Potential respondents were approached and briefly informed about the study that was taking place. If they were interested, their contact information was taken down and a date and time were set up for the interview.

In total, fifteen participants were recruited from three regional associations and one seniors' residence, as well as by word of mouth via the associations. The interviews took place between the fall of 2018 and early winter of 2019, with a three-week break in between for the Christmas holidays. The locations where the interviews took place varied: for the first generation, they took place in the seniors' residence where the participants were recruited, making it easy for them to meet with the interviewer in the residence's common/social room. For the second and third generations, the interviews took place either at the regional association where the participants were recruited or at a local coffee shop. In one instance, the interview took place at the participant's home. The respondents were informed that the questionnaires were designed to last approximately one hour. However, in most cases – and especially with the first generation – they lasted longer than the designated time, much to the respondents' content, who appreciated being able to talk about their experiences as immigrants in the city.

The fifteen respondents were all Greek-Montrealers, either having immigrated to the city or born in it. The first generation participants were all immigrants who had arrived from Greece prior to 1970. Second generation participants were all Canadian-born citizens born of Greek immigrants parents. The third generation proved to be the most challenging to recruit. Ideally, participants of this generation would have had both parents born in Montreal. However, it was difficult to find people who fit this criteria and at the same time were interested in taking part in this study, and as such, the criteria for this generation were changed so that they fit a certain age range (in this case, under 30).¹³¹ Levels of education and income were mentioned as research variables in

¹³¹ Because of this, the third generation varied in terms of who their parents were, with some participants having one or both of their parents born in Greece but raised in Canada from a young age.

Chapter 3 and in similar research,¹³² and as such, they were included in the questionnaires. In the end, however, they were not the subject of an analysis for this thesis. They are variables that were discussed more with the first-generation cohort and insofar as the results showed, whereas for the second- and third-generation cohorts, the results were comparable to those of native Canadians.

A sample size of 15 participants – 5 from each generation – was deemed adequate considering the depth of the questionnaires that the respondents had to answer and the sheer volume of information that was being gathered. With such a sample size, it was easy to look at the similarities between the responses across each generation's participants, as well as across all three generations themselves. Additionally, it was important to see how the answers could have related to the social representations of the community, while attempting to answer the main research question. Furthermore, whatever answers this study provided could be used to look at how the Greek community has evolved from different angles, such as in the case for those Greeks that did not necessarily follow the same general trajectory as the rest of the community. This group of Greeks represents a small sample size that is not necessarily representative of three generations in Montreal. However, the qualitative approach developed in this thesis is not intended to establish correlations and generalize tendencies, but rather to understand the workings and mechanisms involved in the participants' residential choices and lifestyles. In this sense, the groups of respondents are contextualized unique witnesses.

Prior to conducting the interviews, the participants were presented with a consent form outlining the purpose of the project and their rights as interviewees. Once they had agreed upon the terms and signed the form, the interview process began. The interviews were semi-directed, with the interviewer asking the questions and leaving them open to the participant to answer them as they saw fit. In some cases, there were sub-questions that were asked, sort of as a way to guide the overarching question that was asked. As long as the respondents did not divert too much from the original question, they were free to speak as long as they wanted. As the interviews were being conducted, they were also being recorded for later analysis and transcription. Additionally, points of interest (homes, workplaces, schools, activities, churches, shopping) were marked on

¹³² Lord, "Continuités, Ruptures et Transformations de l'expérience Résidentielle : (Re)Construire Un Chez-Soi Dans Le Contexte de l'immigration Internationale à Montréal."

Société de transport de Montréal (STM) and *Société de transport de Laval (STL)* maps, to be used later on for cartographic analysis.

Following the conclusion of the interviews, the audio was transcribed into Microsoft Word© format with the use of Trint© online software. The transcripts were then revised to correct any inaccuracies and fill in any blanks the software may have missed. Next, they were analyzed using a qualitative data analysis methodology starting from key words and phrases and developing codes in order to approach participants' ideas and meanings of residential experiences in Greater Montreal.

In conjunction with the interview transcripts above, the information compiled during the mapping activities also served to further show how the participants in question related to other Greeks in the Greater Montreal Area. Using ArcGIS© mapping software, each of the participants' three dwellings was placed on a digital map and colour-coded. Next, all the activities associated with each dwelling were also placed on the same map and marked with the same colour as the corresponding dwelling. Each dwelling and the activities associated with it counted for one layer, making for three layers per participant. The data was then analyzed individually for each layer, by calculating ellipses to determine how far each participant's action space extended from their dwellings and to see how these evolved over time – for each individual and for each generation. With this information, it would then be easier to compare the evolution of places and spaces across individual action spaces. With a sample size of 15 people, that meant that there would be 15 sets of action spaces at three different points of life, meaning that the generations as wholes could be compared to with one another, but also each of the individuals within a generation could also be compared to one another.

Chapter 6 – Results and Analysis

This chapter will present the results of the fieldwork conducted and described in the methodology (Chapter 5.3), in conjunction with the ideas presented in the first two parts of the conceptual framework (Chapters 5.1 and 5.2). That means that for each generation of Greek-Canadians living in Montreal, their experiences, their relationships, and their feelings toward other Greeks, other Montrealers, and the city itself will be examined through the scope of the three dimensions that have guided this thesis so far.

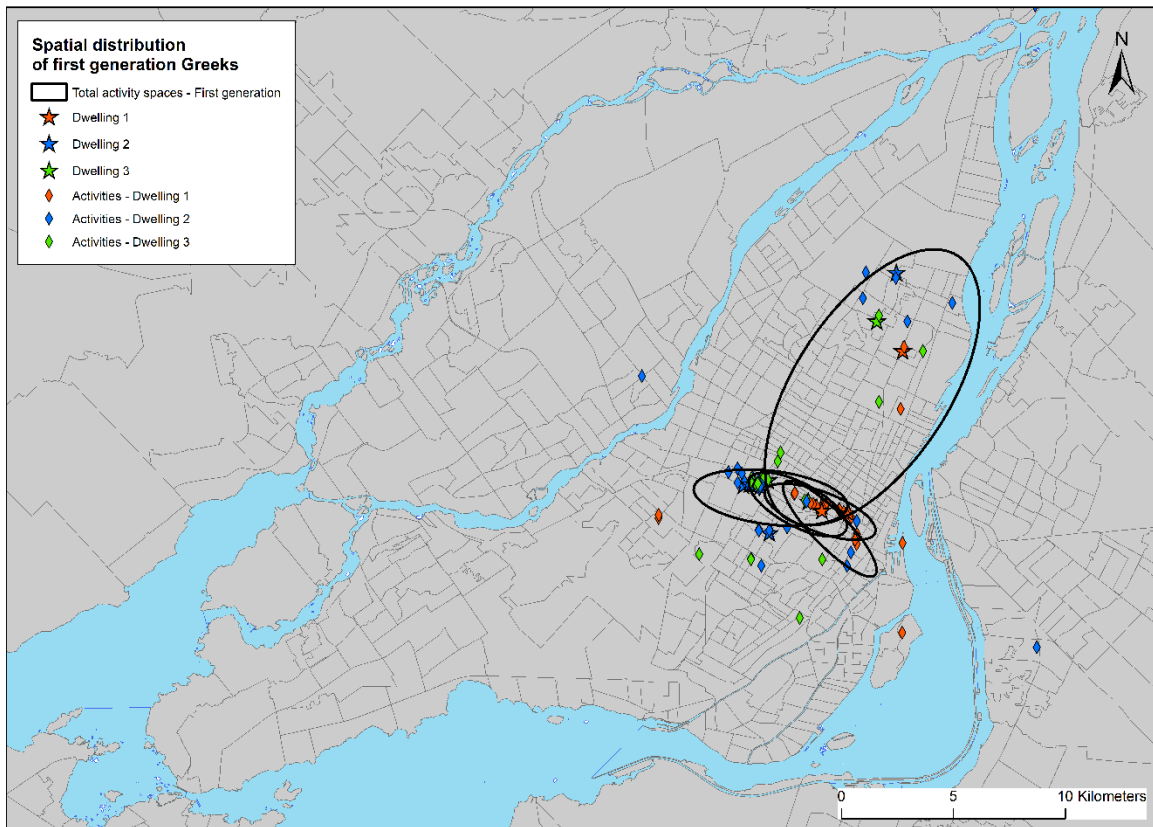
6.1 – Results and analysis for the first generation

Table 3 – Summary table for the first generation

Places	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Residential trajectory determined by concentration of other Greeks, work opportunities• Access to places restricted by limited mobility opportunities• Activity spaces were closely tied to residential location• Visits to homes were very important to keep ties with others
Spaces	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Spaces were purely physical in the early days; still remain so today• Regional associations were important spaces to maintain Greek culture, tradition• Entire neighbourhoods also seen as spaces because of the people, places that were found in them; came to create a sense of meaning, community, proximity
People	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Associated mostly with other Greeks• Closeness of Greek community made them feel like family• Family unit was the most important• Perception towards other Greeks has changed as time has passed; become more disillusioned• Generally not very comfortable with non-Greeks

6.1.1 – Cartographic analysis of the first generation

Map 3 - Spatial distribution of first generation Greeks across three dwellings



Source and cartography: Athanasios Boutas, 2019

This map shows two clusters: one in the Plateau-Mont-Royal area, where the first generation settled when they first arrived to Montreal, and one in the Parc-Extension area, where they moved to after they had established themselves. It is also the case because four of the five participants interviewed currently reside in the same building in Parc-Extension. The activities associated with each of the dwellings are also associated with each of the above-mentioned clusters, resulting in small action spaces all around. This is what was expected of the first generation (Chapter 5.2 – Figure 1), with the activities located close to home and not very numerous, resulting in small, compact action spaces.

As is illustrated, four of the five participants have small ellipses. This is an indication that, throughout their lifetimes in Montreal, they have had limited mobility and small action spaces. They have tended to stick to places close to their homes and to the community. Furthermore, all 5 action spaces are limited to the island of Montreal. Their outermost limits do not cross over to Laval or the South Shore. In fact, throughout their lifetimes, there have been very few occasions

where they have had to leave from the island of Montreal. The participant with the larger action space was more mobile during his lifetime, and the direction of the ellipse indicates that he has had activities that led him toward the larger concentration of Greeks.

Additionally, this map also shows the trajectory followed by four of the five participants, and that it creates a sort of linear axe from the Plateau, where the activities mostly associated with the first dwelling are, to Parc-Extension. This means that from settlement to establishment, the Greek population of Montreal moved northward along the Plateau and into Parc-Extension, before spreading out into the suburbs, as would be shown with the later generations.

6.1.2 – Sociological reality and description of the first generation

The first generation of Greek-Canadians living in Montreal has had the most expansive sociological reality. Despite having spent two parts of their lives in two distinctly different countries, cultures, and realities, they still see themselves as being the same people that they were when they first arrived to Montreal some 50 to 60 years ago. While their daily routines have changed – having gone from working and raising families to retiring and helping raise grandchildren to moving into a retirement home – much of the essence of who they are has not. Even after so many years, they still very much think and act in the same ways that they did when they were younger. The biggest change for them has been in the world around them, something they have noticed and acknowledged and do not necessarily see too kindly to. They feel as if there has been a shift within Montreal's Greek community at large, where the younger generations, after having moved away from the central neighbourhoods in which they grew up, have quickly adopted a more Canadian way of life. Consequently, this has gradually led them to abandon the traditions they grew up with, which has resulted in a loss of the sense of community. Additionally, the immigrants have felt this loss on a more personal level, wishing to be closer to their children and grandchildren who now live far away from them in the suburbs, in other cities, or in other countries.

When the first generation of post-war immigrants arrived from Greece, they were coming to a world that is unknown to them, and oftentimes alone. To be able to see another Greek and to converse and socialize with them was something very important to this cohort of Greek-Montrealers. It was often their only connection to their homeland, and suddenly, seeing another Greek was not like seeing someone from a different part of the country, but like seeing someone who was family. As one participant put it:

«Όταν βλέπαμε ο ένας τον άλλο, παιδί μου, νομίζαμε ότι ήταν συγγενής μας. Δηλαδή, χαιρόμασταν. Αναλόγως τις παρέες, είπαμε ήταν ο ένας γνωστός με τον άλλον και γνωριζόμασταν σε μια επίσκεψη και μας άρεσε ο χαρακτήρας, βέβαια... Θα του μιλάγαμε και στο δρόμο ή κουμπάρους κάναμε. Αισθανόμαστε πως ήταν δικοί μας άνθρωποι. Πως ήτανε σαν δικοί μας... συγγενείς μας τους κάναμε.»

“When we would see one another, my child, we thought it was our relative. We were happy. Depending on the company, we would see one person would know another and we would meet at a visit and we liked their personality, of course... we would talk to them on the street or make them our koumpáros.¹³³ We felt like they were our people. That they were ours... we made them our relatives.”

- Participant GR103

In other words, they had no one else but their compatriots for support. This did not go amiss from the second generation of Greek-Montrealers, either, as it is essentially what built up the feeling of family and unity within the early days of the community. For immigrants who had already settled in Montreal, they only saw it as fitting to welcome and help anyone new who was arriving, having known the struggle of coming to a new place with no knowledge of the culture or the languages, and often having to go at it alone.

It is through actions such as these that helped to build a strong sense of community among the immigrants and to better adjust to life in Canada. The participants would speak highly of this time during the interviews, always reiterating on the sense of unity that was shared among those early arrivals, despite the hardships they had to endure. On the other hand, this generation also noticed just how much the Greek community in Montreal has changed since then. They saw that, as time went by, the sense of unity and community that they felt early in their time has disappeared. Once again, this is mostly a result of their children choosing to move to the suburbs. This resulted in the dispersal of Greeks across the city and fewer Greeks living in traditionally Greek neighbourhoods, such as Parc-Extension.

It is from this feeling of loss and the dispersal of the community that a number of other observations and comments were made on this generation's part. They feel like it has led to the

¹³³ Plural form of the word *koumpáros/koumpára*, meaning best man or maid-of-honor, or godparents of the child.

later generations slowly feeling more disconnected with their ethnic heritage and moving towards an assimilation to the host society's values and customs. One participant likened the changing values of Greek-Montrealer youth to those of Greek youth in Greece, who, in his eyes, have changed dramatically recently, to the point where both are indistinguishable.

«Ξέρεις τι θα σου πω σ' αυτό που είδα εγώ που πάω και στην Ελλάδα; Η νεολαία είναι τα ίδια. Όπως εδώ είναι και στην Ελλάδα.»

“You know what I'll tell you about what I've seen when I've been to Greece? The youth is the same. Whatever it is here [in Montreal], it is the same in Greece.”

- Participant GR102

During the interview process, a real sense of fear and worry could be sensed from the first generation immigrants concerning not only the future of Montreal's Greek community, but for the Greeks in Greece as well.

When asked if they could see themselves moving back to Greece, the responses were rather interesting. Most participants felt like they would not be able to go back to living in Greece – that the country had changed too much since the time they had left and that they would feel like strangers in their native land. They felt like it would be difficult to have to adjust to a “new” country at this stage of their lives.

«Κάποιες φορές που είχαμε πάει σαν επισκέπτες με τον άντρα μου, με τα παιδιά μας, είμαστε... Ξέρεις γιατί μεγαλώσανε τα νέα παιδιά, οι συνομιληκοί μας παντρευτήκανε, πήγαν τα παιδιά τους μετά... εμείς δεν τα γνωρίζαμε και είχαν άλλη νοοτροπία ωστόσο. Δηλαδή, οι πιο νέοι, και εδώ - δεν ξέρω – τη συγγένεια δεν την είχανε. Εγώ ήξερα πως αυτός είναι Παπαδάκης, είναι εγγονός του τάδε, που ήταν συγχωριανός μου... το βρίσκαμε πως ήταν εγγονός. Αλλά του 'λεγες «Τι κάνεις; Καλά;» θα χαιρέταγε. Αλλά δεν είχανε την ίδια ζεστασιά όπως τους παλιούς που ήμασταν εμείς. Που και τώρα να ζούσαν οι παλιοί, εγώ σαν δικούς μου ανθρώπους θα τους χαιρέταγα. Αλλά τα παιδιά δεν μας γνωρίζανε, είχανε δίκιο.»

“Sometimes when we had gone [to Greece] as visitors with my husband and my children, we were... you know, it is because the younger kids grew up, people our age got married, they went with their kids after... we did not know them and they had a different mindset as such. Meaning that, the younger ones, and here too – I do not know – they did not have the kinship [as we had].

I knew that was Papadakis, he was so-and-so's grandson, who was from my village... we would find out that it was his grandson. You would tell him "How are you? Good?" he would greet you. But they did not have the same warmth as the older ones like us. Where if even now, if the older ones were still living, I would greet them as if they were my own [family]. But the kids did not know us, in their own right."

- Participant GR103

Additionally, when asked how they felt about Montreal and whether or not they saw it as "home", the answers were mixed. For some, it definitely felt like home because so much time had passed since they left Greece and everything they had come to know was in Montreal.

«Αισθάνομαι σαν το σπίτι μου [στο Μόντρεαλ] και ότι άλλο να πάθω – κάτι ή ξέρω εγώ τί – θα γυρίσω εδώ πάλι.»

"I feel like I'm at home [in Montreal] and anything that happens to me – something or I do not know what – I will come back here."

- Participant GR102

«Τώρα είναι σαν σπίτι μου. Βέβαια. Εξήντα χρόνια εδώ, στην Ελλάδα είκοσι. [...] Σαν να 'χω μεγαλώσει εδώ. Γιατί έπειτα από τόσα χρόνια, έχουμε ξεχάσει κιόλας.»

"Now it is like my home. Of course, [it has been] sixty years here, and I lived in Greece for only twenty. [...] It is as if I have grown up here. After so many years, we've also forgotten [what it used to be like back then in Greece]."

- Participant GR103

«Δεν νιώθω ποτέ σαν ξένη. Δεν έχω νιώσει τον εαυτό μου να νιώσει ξένη στο Μόντρεαλ γιατί είναι ο τόπος μου τώρα 58 χρόνια.»

"I never feel like a stranger. I have never felt myself feel like a stranger in Montreal because it is my place now for 58 years."

- Participant GR105

One participant did not feel the same way about his adopted city. For many people of this generation who came to Montreal, the goal was to make enough money to be able to go back to Greece and live comfortably. However, that did not always materialize, and they eventually stayed in Montreal. While Montreal was the city in which they have lived in for over 50 years, it still does not feel like "home" to them.

«Μετά από 50 χρόνια, ποτέ μου δεν συνήθισα να πω ότι είμαι Καναδός πολίτης και εδώ θα πεθάνω.»

“After 50 years, I never got used to it to say that I am a Canadian citizen and this is where I will die.”

- Participant GR101

What defined this generation of Greek-Canadians was the closeness and proximity – both socially and within the physical terms of the city itself – that these people lived in. In the early days following their immigration, many Greeks lived in the lower part of the Plateau-Mont-Royal. This location was relatively close to the port where they arrived, as well as close to many jobs near downtown that were readily accessible for newly arrived immigrants. As many jobs moved northward, so followed the immigrants with their young families, finally settling in Parc-Extension, in what would become one of Montreal’s most famous ethnic neighbourhoods.

Apart from this physical proximity to each other, there was also the social proximity and the sense of community that living in such close quarters created. Greeks are known for placing importance in family and social ties, and this is reflected in the day-to-day lives of Greek-Canadian Montrealers through their closeness with one another.

«Ήμασταν οι Έλληνες μαζεμένοι τότε. Κατάλαβες; Είχαμε και τα ελληνικά όλα, βγαίναμε έξω, παιδιά είμασταν... είχε μία δόση εδώ πέρα το Μόντρεαλ, λέγανε, είχε 11 ή 10 κλαμπ με μπουζούκια, με ορχήστρα, όλα! Επί τη Σαν-Λόραν και Παρκ Άβενιου ήταν όλα αυτά και περνάγαμε ωραία.»

“We were all the Greeks gathered [together] back then. You understand? We had the Greek [places], we would go out, we were kids... at one point, they said that Montreal had 11 or 10 clubs with bouzoukia, with a band, everything! Between Saint-Laurent and Parc Avenue were all these things and we had great times.”

- Participant GR102

These circumstances have made for an undoubtedly tight-knit community in the truest sense of the word, dating back to when the first Greeks arrived. As the literature showed, it is something that has also been seen in other ethnic communities across the world from as far back as the days of the Chicago School. The fact that such communities have existed throughout time and across many different places is indicative of the importance of creating and maintaining an ethnic community, especially in the early going of the migration experience.

What is more with this first generation of Greek-Canadians is their wariness of non-Greeks, as will be seen further below. In the cases of the people interviewed, they felt, at one point or another, a sense of racism or prejudice against them from French and English locals. While this was more likely to have happened in the past, the negative feelings associated with these experiences have remained to today, even though they had not outwardly expressed feeling being treated as such recently.

6.1.3 – Places

This generation of Greek-Canadian Montrealers presents an interesting, classical case of immigrant residential movement across the city. Their residential trajectories throughout time have been relatively restricted, compared to later generations. Four out of the five participants interviewed all started in the Plateau-Mont-Royal, while one other started in Nouveau-Rosemont. Of the four that started in the Plateau, three eventually found themselves in Parc-Extension prior to moving into the retirement home, while one did not move too far, settling in Côte-des-Neiges. The participant who started in Nouveau-Rosemont eventually moved to Anjou. The same four participants who started off in the Plateau eventually came to live in the retirement home in which they currently reside in, which is also situated in Parc-Extension, while the participant who started in Nouveau-Rosemont still finds himself in Anjou today.

What is interesting to note about this generation's residential trajectory is that it follows suit with what the historical statistics show. There were historically strong concentrations of Greek-Canadians that moved along a central axis on the island, from the lower Plateau up to Parc-Extension. It is only later that the population began to disperse itself and spread across the metropolitan region. This will be examined in further detail with the second and third generations and their residential trajectories a little later on.

Many of the places frequented by this generation can be broken down into two categories: local Greek spots and local landmarks. On the one hand, the participants often visited places that had cultural, social, or religious ties to the Greek community. These include churches, Greek coffee shops, Greek regional associations, Greek clubs and restaurants, and Greek shops. This helped them to maintain ties with their ethnic heritage while navigating in a foreign world. Coincidentally, these places happened to be located near the participants' places of residence, making it easy for them to access them and further strengthen the community bonds that they had started to develop. On the other hand, many of the places that this generation visited, especially upon arrival

to Montreal, and that have remained with them to this day are places that are considered international Montreal landmarks. These include Mount Royal Park, the Botanical Gardens, the Old Port, and many of the pavilions associated with the 1967 World's Fair, Expo '67, and the 1976 Olympic Games, such as the Olympic Stadium, the Biosphere, and Saint Helen's Island.

6.1.4 – Spaces

The creation of spaces for this generation was a very important part of their settling in Montreal right from the very beginning. While the Greek community in Montreal had existed from the early 20th century, it is this generation that truly brought to the forefront what it means to be a Greek-Canadian living in Montreal. As the number of Greek immigrants arriving to Montreal increased during the late 1950s and into the 1960s, the importance of having more spaces for Greeks from different parts of Greece grew. Each region in Greece has its own customs, traditions, dialects, and identity. The creation of social spaces designated for the different regions of Greece, or the development of previously existing ones from past generations, was important in maintaining these aspects of regional Greek identity. Often, and to this day, many of the associations host events or participate in festivals to offer a taste of what each region has to offer. Greek-Canadian immigrants would often gather at these places to socialize and keep up with what is happening in their home country or region. These spaces were also designated to maintain and pass on Greek culture to younger generations, as most of them offered Greek language and dance lessons.

The church was another important space for this generation, as it served to keep their ties to their faith. This generation of Greek-Canadian Montrealers, often arriving from small villages, were – and remain to this day – very religious. Religion played an important role in their lives back in the village and it is something that they brought with them to Montreal. Additionally, as much as churches were primarily and most importantly religious spaces, they served as social spaces where people would gather in the church's hall area or out front after mass.

Traditionally, Greeks have been a patriarchal society, reflected in the history of the Greek people dating back millennia. For Greek immigrants coming to Montreal, they brought much of this mentality with them, and it is reflected in the way spaces were created and shared in the early parts of this history. Men would often gather at bouzouki clubs and taverns, spaces where they would go to listen to live music, eat and drink, and socialize with other men. Women often involved themselves in church groups and benevolent societies, whose main goal was to help the community, especially other newcomers as they arrived. This division is much less pronounced

today, especially in the younger generations, but still present in matters concerning the older generations.

One of the most important spaces in Greek-Canadian society was the home. This was as true for the home in Canada as it was for the home in Greece. For Greek-Canadian Montrealers, the home has always represented the centre of their lives. Everything important that occurred happened in the home. Holidays, family gatherings, name day celebrations, and weekly visits to friends and families all took part in the home.

Another important space, especially at the time when the first generation of Greek-Canadian immigrants were settling in Montreal, was the neighbourhood. The combination of the places and the people that made up the ethnic Greek neighbourhood in Montreal made it such that the neighbourhood itself became an important space in the development of Montreal's Greek community.

What is interesting to note with this generation is that their spaces were limited in physical scope due to their lack of opportunity to move freely within the city. In most cases, the participants reported moving around in public transportation, as it was the only viable option to them at the time of their arrival. However, even as time went by, not all made the switch to move around by car; many still stuck with public transportation to get around for their day-to-day travels. The creation and maintenance of spaces were made much more meaningful by this because they were the gathering and socializing spots that defined a generation.

6.1.5 – People

Family played an important role in the early days of immigration for the first generation of Greek-Montrealers. Many people coming over from Greece were arriving via sponsorship, depending on other family members or friends who were already established to bring them over and help them settle. Because most people were arriving from small villages, it was more likely that the immigrants arriving were either family members of people already living in Montreal, or fellow villagers. One participant, having jumped ship in Saint John, New Brunswick, spoke about what drew him to Montreal.

«[...] στον Καναδά είχα έρθει μόνο στο Σεντ Τζον, Νιου Μπράνζουικ που ήρθα, και εκεί την κοπάνησα από το καράβι, πήρα το τρένο και ήρθα στο Μόντρεαλ

γιατί είχα ακούσει ότι ήταν κάτι χωριανάκια μου εδώ πέρα και ήρθα και τους είδα.»

“[...] in Canada I had only been to Saint John, New Brunswick when I came, and from there I deserted the ship [I was working on], I took the train and came to Montreal because I had heard that there were some co-villagers of mine here and I came and saw them.”

- Participant GR101

Two other participants talked about how their siblings were already in the city prior to their arrival, and how they helped them and their other siblings settle and get started.

«Είχα αδερφό που μ' έφερε εδώ [...] και έμεινα με τον αδερφό μου μέχρι το '70 που πήγα στο Λαμπραντόρ. [...] Η οικογένεια μαζί, με τ' αδέρφια. Ξέρεις τι κάναμε τότε; Ο αδερφός μου νοικίαζε ένα σπίτι φεριποίν 75 δολλάρια και μέναμε και του δίναμε 5 δολλάρια κάθε βδομάδα και βοηθάγαμε κι αυτόν. Δίναμε κι άλλα 5 δολλάρια για την μάσα και μαγείρευε η γυναίκα του στο σπίτι και τρώγαμε.»

“I had a brother who brought me here [...] and I lived with my brother until '70 when I went to Labrador. [...] The family together, with the siblings. You know what we did then? My brother was renting a house for 75 dollars and we lived in there and we'd give him 5 dollars a week and we'd help him. We'd give another 5 dollars for food and his wife would cook and we would eat.”

- Participant GR102

«Η αδερφή μου ήταν εδώ κι εμπιστευτήκαμε σε εκείνη και ήρθαμε δύο αδερφές μαζί. [...] Είχαμε την αδερφή μου εδώ και είχαμε αυτή την εικόνα θα βρούμε κάποιον και ήταν πιο εύκολο για μας.»

“My sister was here and we put our faith in her and we came here together, two sisters. [...] We had our sister here and we had the image that we would find someone and it would be easier for us.”

- Participant GR103

There were instances, however, where some immigrants had to fend for themselves, as one participant described having arrived to Montreal not knowing anyone or anything about the city, except for some pictures and where it was on a map.

« Δεν γνώριζα κόσμο, κανένα. Είχα δει πολλές φωτογραφίες από μια θεία μου που είχε έρθει στην Ελλάδα από την Αμερική και μου είχε δείξει τον χάρτη του Καναδά, που είναι το Μόντρεαλ [...]. »

“I did not know people [in Montreal], no one. I had seen a lot of photographs from an aunt of mine who came to Greece from the United States and she showed me the map of Canada, where Montreal is [...].”

- Participant GR105

These connections were the most important when it came to the immigrants first establishing themselves in Montreal. As was previously stated, the feeling of seeing other Greeks was described almost like seeing family and there was a closeness that existed within the community at the time.

In choosing to settle in a new, unfamiliar place like Montreal, it was of the utmost importance for the first generation of Greek-Canadians to be sure that their children were raised with Greek values. As parents, they did what they could to surround their children by other Greeks, to help to maintain Greek culture, language, heritage, and the Orthodox faith. To accomplish this, they would often bring them to places where other Greeks would gather, ensuring that they could interact with other people of similar background.

One participant in particular, a mother of two daughters, described the experience of raising her girls.

«Εδώ που μεγαλώνανε ήταν γύρω από την κοινότητα. Είχαμε τον κύκλο μας. Αλλά εμένα τα κορίτσια μου, να σου πώ την αλήθεια, δεν βγαίνανε έξω μόνες τους στα κλαμπ ποτές. Οι παρέες μόνο θα πηγαίναμε στους χωρούς τους ελληνικούς στον Άγιο Γεώργιο, χορευτικά. Χορεύανε γιατί κάνανε ένα γκρουπ, χορεύανε για τον σύλλογο των Σαμιών. Οι Σαμιώτες έρχονταν στους Κρήτες. Δηλαδή μόνο σε περίπτωση κοινοτικές εκδηλώσεις πηγαίναμε και χορεύανε. Ήτανε στο Κρητικό σύλλογο. Εκεί πρωταρχίσανε – από 8 χρονών η μικρή μου, η μεγάλη κόρη.»

“Here where they [her daughters] grew up, they were around the community. We had our circle. But my girls, to tell you the truth, they did not go out to the clubs ever. With company we would go to the Greek dances at Saint-George. They would dance, they were in a [dance] group, they would dance for the Samiotan association. The Samiotans would come to the Cretans. Only in the instances where there were social events would we go and they would dance.

They were part of the Cretan association. That's where they started – from 8 years old my little, my oldest daughter.”

- Participant GR103

All the participants expressed feeling some sort of racism directed toward them at one point or another in their time in Canada. This was directed to them equally from French-Canadians and English-Canadians. One participant, describing an early experience at Mount-Royal Park, felt like it was almost a fight for territory within in the city.

«Και να σας πω κάτι [...] εμείς τότε τι τραβήξαμε; Ερχόντουσαν οι Γάλλοι με κάτι αλυσίδες και με κάτι αυτά... άμα μας βλέπανε πεντέξι εμείς, καμιά δεκαριά αυτοί, πού να κάτσουμε;»

“And can I tell you what we went through at that time? The French[-Canadians] would come with chains and stuff... if they saw five or six of us and there were 10 of them, where could we possibly sit?”

- Participant GR103

Most participants felt that this was such because they were viewed as “the other” at a time where tensions between Quebec’s Francophone and Anglophone populations were starting to rise, and the immigrant populations were becoming a focus of government policies aimed at maintaining the French language and culture in Quebec.

However, it was not always the case, and their feelings towards non-Greeks have changed over time. In one particular case, the participant who has lived his entire life in the eastern part Montreal, further from other Greeks, expressed having positive feelings towards French-Canadians as time passed by and got to know them better.

«Η δική μου η περίπτωση σπανιεύει γιατί έμεινα εκεί στο ηστ. Δεν γδάρθηκα με τους Γάλλους πολύ, γι’ αυτό τους αγαπώ πολύ τους Γάλλους εγώ.»

“My situation is rare because I lived in the east. I did not fight much with the French[-Canadians], which is why I love the French[-Canadians] very much.”

- Participant GR106

The relationships between Greeks and non-Greeks appear to have changed over time. On the one hand, this generation of Greek-Montrealers views other Greeks more negatively than they

used to. This is because they feel like much of the Greek community has been poorly treated some Greeks, specifically those who are in charge of the community itself.

«[...] που δεν θέλω ν' ακούω την λέξη «κοινότητα». [...] Και ντρέπομαι να λέω ότι είμαι Έλληνας εξαιτίας της ελληνικής κοινότητας. Μας έχουν ξεφτιλίσει τελείως, να πούμε. [Κοιτάνε] Μόνο που να ξεσκίσουν, που ν' αρπάξουν και που να ληστέψουν.»

"[...] where I do not even want to hear the word "community." [...] And I am ashamed to say I am Greek because of the Greek Community.¹³⁴ They have embarrassed us completely. [They look] Only where to tear from, where to grab from, and where to steal from."

- Participant GR101

Many of these feelings stem from negativity dating back to when one of the oldest Greek churches in Montreal burned down. Despite the people wanting its reconstruction, the Community did not rebuild it.

One the other hand, they do view non-Greeks more positively. As they have become a part of the cultural fabric of Montreal, they no longer feel threatened by people of other ethnicities, whether they were other Canadians, or other immigrants. In fact, as one participant talked about, there is a greater sense of respect towards citizens of other nationalities, more so than towards Greeks.

«Παράδειγμα εγώ, δεν μιλάω ούτε αγγλικά, ούτε τα γαλλικά όπως τα μιλάτε εσείς. Οι γείτονες μου, οι περισσότεροι είναι Εγγλέζοι. Αλλά τους βλέπω ανώτερους ανθρώπους από εμάς. Εγώ, δηλαδή, τους σέβομαι πιο πολύ από τους Έλληνες. Γιατί ενδιαφέρονται για σένα. Σου μιλάνε, σου λένε «μπονζοур» και γεμίζει το στόμα τους. Δεν το λένε ψεύτικο, το νιώθουν.»

"For example, myself, I do not speak neither English, nor French like you speak it. My neighbours, most of them are English. However, I see them as superior people over us. I respect them much more than [I respect] Greeks. Because they show an interest in you. They talk to you, they say "bonjour" and it fills their mouth. They do not say it fake; they mean it."

- Participant GR106

¹³⁴ In this case, the participant is referring to the Hellenic Community of Greater Montreal (HCGM), the governing body of the community itself in the Greater Montreal region, and not necessarily the Greeks that make up the local community itself.

This does not mean that all first-generation Greek-Montrealers think negatively of all other Greeks, but the feeling of “seeing another Greek was like seeing family” does not appear to be as strong as it once used to be.

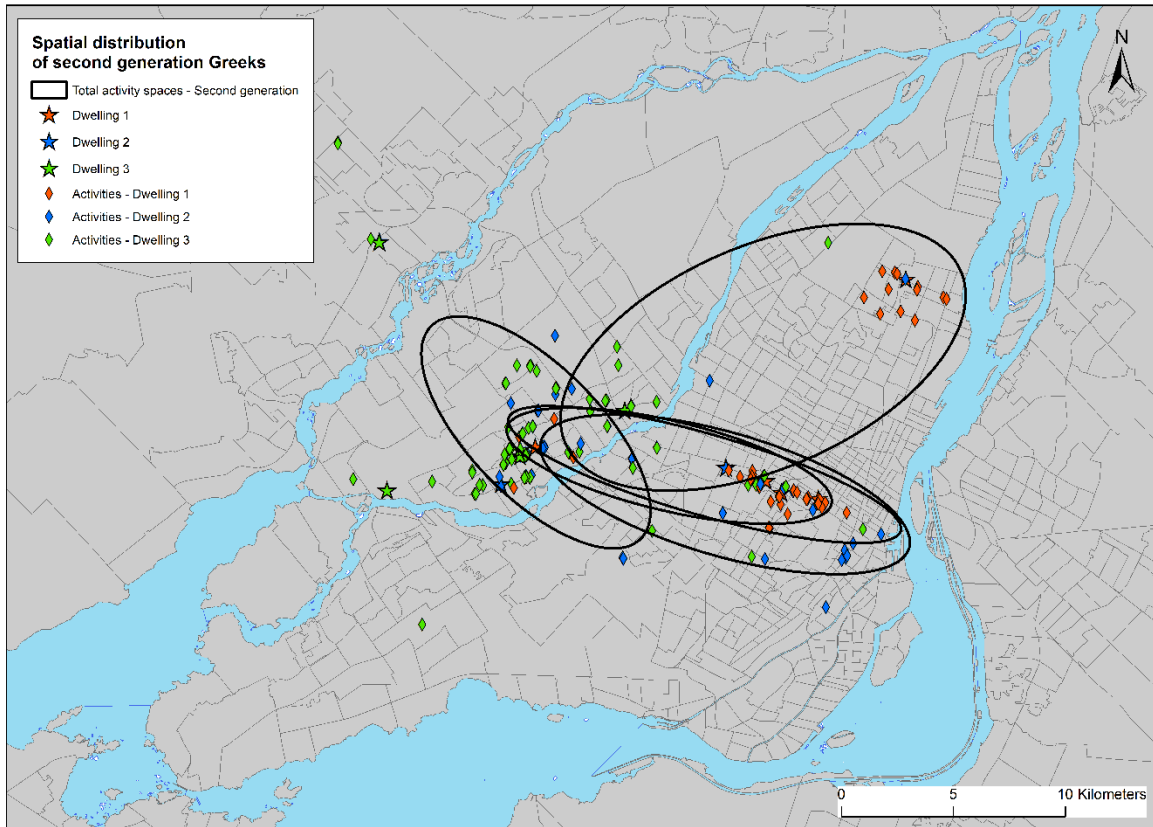
6.2 – Results and analysis for the second generation

Table 4 – Summary table for the second generation

Places	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transition in accessibility to places throughout their lives: in the early days it was limited; today it is much more expansive • Places themselves have also changed, include vast array of Greek and Canadian places • Life trajectory made it so that there are high points and low points of frequenting Greek and Canadian places
Spaces	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greek spaces are frequented for reasons of cultural attachment and tradition • Spaces have evolved from strictly physical to now include virtual/digital spaces • Growing up, streets, alleys were important social spaces to play, interact with other youths • Sense of village (<i>chorio</i>) in old neighbourhoods
People	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Throughout lifetime, family has always been and still remains most important • Much more open to dealing with specific non-Greeks than previous generation • Sense of double identity: important to be with Greeks and non-Greeks in multicultural setting • Very aware of changes in neighbourhoods, arrival of different nationalities; mixed feelings

6.2.1 – Cartographic analysis of the second generation

Map 4 - Spatial distribution of second generation Greeks across three dwellings



Source and cartography: Athanasios Boutas, 2019

This map shows much larger and more widespread action spaces for the second generation of Greek-Montrealers. As was expected, many of the activities associated with the first dwelling were located in the Plateau. However, as the map shows, when it came to the second dwelling, the activities began to spread out some more. Having reached the third dwelling, there is a large concentration of the action spaces located in Laval.

This generation, characterized by an increase in social and physical mobility, is present in Laval, as illustrated by the action spaces and the direction and spread of the ellipses into Laval. The action spaces vary greatly. For those who grew up in the city, the action spaces are slightly smaller and the activities much more clustered compared to those who grew up further out. They are also slightly more focused in Montreal, but still a little spread over to Laval.

This map is a reflection of how the community itself has evolved over time: from having started small and concentrated in inner city, immigrant neighbourhoods to moving out towards the

suburbs and spreading around. The linear axe leading from the Plateau to Laval is also much more defined in this map, as the cumulative shape of the ellipses and their overlap into Laval further illustrates the shape of the movement of the community.

6.2.2 – Sociological reality and description of the second generation

The one thing that defines the second generation of Greek-Canadian Montrealers is the fact that they have lived their lives with a dual identity, making them out to be almost a “torn” generation. In fact, it can be argued that throughout their lifetimes, they have had to live through two distinct sociological realities. They grew up in a world where their lives at home were different from their lives outside of home. At home, as the children of immigrants, they were immersed in the culture and values that their parents brought over from Greece and with which they were being raised. Outside the home, however, it was different, as they went to local schools, played in local parks, and found themselves surrounded by things that were different from what they knew at home. This was further accentuated as they reached their teenage and young adult years and gained more freedom and independence. As it stands now, in the present day, it appears that having reached middle-age status and having children of their own, they have struck a balance between their Greek and Canadian identities.

Growing up with and being raised by immigrant parents is what defined the early years of this generation. In fact, their sociological realities were often reflections of their parents’ realities. While they were raised with the values and rules that their parents brought over from Greece, they also had to grow up with their fears and worries. Canadian culture was still foreign to this generation’s parents and the parents tried their best to keep their children surrounded by Greek culture as much as possible.

From a young age, a strong work ethic was something that was instilled in this generation. Three participants recalled working for their fathers from young ages: two in their fathers’ restaurants, and another in a variety shop that has now become an institution within Montreal’s Greek community.

“Basically, my childhood, to be honest with you, since I was 6, 7, I was working for my dad’s restaurant. [...] It was like, working at 6 or 7 years old, was it normal to me, at that time? Maybe. [...] Basically, all my childhood to all my teens I was working. In the summers I worked a lot.”

- Participant GR202

“He was in the restaurant business, my dad. That’s how I started off, too. Twelve years old, I started working. I was a dishwasher at the restaurant, at my dad’s restaurant. He grabbed me and he goes “Ελα, πάμε για δουλειά.” [Come, let’s go to work.] I didn’t want to work, but honestly, I think that’s the best thing that happened to me. [...] Twelve years old, I was washing dishes, like... Πέμπτη, Παρασκευή βράδυ [Thursday, Friday night] because I was going to school, I would go for about three hours and [...] help them out, and Saturday, Sunday, every weekend, I was [there]... Dishes were piling up and piling up! [...] But it helped me a lot being in the workforce at such a young age.”

- Participant GR204

“My upbringing is a bit unique. So, the bus would pick me up from the house from Parc-Ex, but after school, the bus would drop me off at Delphi [Variety] – my parents weren’t home. So they’d drop me off at Delphi. So I’d go to the dépanneur, five, six years old [...] until it was time to go back home.”

- Participant GR205

These sorts of experiences came with being the children of immigrants, and the process of growing up varied greatly from person to person. Many of the parents themselves had strict upbringings growing up in Greek villages, and it was all they knew. When it came time to raise their own children, they raised them the only way they knew how to.

“[...] because my father was really, really strict. I wasn’t allowed to go out much around town. He regrets it sometimes today, but anyways...”

- Participant GR202

However, it was not always like that, as growing up while going to their parents’ workplaces also allowed the participants to be surrounded by other Greeks and Greek culture.

“[...] plus, my father’s store was a Greek institution. So at work, it was Greek; Daperi¹³⁵ playing on, all the time. My father sold only Greek products. A lot of Greek people were always coming up to the store.”

- Participant GR205

This generation’s teenage and young adult years brought change to their sociological realities. By that point, they had more freedom to move around in the city and discover it from different

¹³⁵ Montreal’s local Greek radio station, referred to after the name of its then-owner, Ioannis Daperis.

perspectives. Suddenly, it was as if their whole world opened up. While they continued to go to Greek places, they were no longer with the same frequency as when they were younger. This opened their eyes to what else Montreal had to offer: the different places and spaces that existed in the city and the people that lived in it.

Currently, a balance has been struck between their Greek and Canadian worlds. They have a much better understanding and appreciation of their Greek heritage than they ever did, but they also understand that their roots are in Montreal and in Canada now and that there is something unique about being a Greek-Canadian.

"[...] it's my home. I was born here. I'm Greek, yes, but I'm also a Montrealer, I'm Canadian."

- Participant GR202

There appears to be a fine line as to what is the sociological reality that the second generation of Greek-Canadians is raising their children in. All the participants expressed their desire to pass on their appreciation of their Greek heritage to their children and to involve them more in Greek activities and culture. However, they also expressed concerns for crossing over too much on to either side (the Greek side or the Canadian side) at the detriment of the other and alienating them from either culture. This also presents an interesting scenario as to what the sociological reality of their children will be, as they are also growing up in a multicultural environment, drastically different from their parents and grandparents' environments, while trying to balance their lifestyles between two cultures.

One participant summed it up by saying that he wants his children to live "normal" lives. However, this could be interpreted as wanting them to live their lives more Canadian as opposed to the life he had growing up.

"[...] I won't say I had a bad childhood with my father, but I wanted my son and my daughter to live a normal life youth, compared to mine. It wasn't normal for me to be working from the age of seven."

- Participant GR202

In wanting his children to live more 'normal' lives, it comes at the cost of their exposure to Greek culture, as he later stated that they do not speak much Greek or know much about the culture. He went on to further wonder what would happen to future generations, admitting that, while

he would like for himself and his children to be more involved in the Greek community, he is not doing anything to help the situation, especially when traditionally Canadian activities take precedent.

“I’m trying to bring my kids here [to the Zakynthian Association] to start dancing. You know... we’re thinking about it, we just haven’t done it yet. My son plays hockey a lot, so I’m always running...”

- Participant GR202

On the other hand, another participant took a completely different approach, choosing to raise his children with Greek values and tradition, all the while understanding that they are growing up in a multi-ethnic society. This shows the kind of balance that can be achieved between the Greek and Canadian worlds when it comes to raising their children.

“It’s important for me to raise my kids with Greek values, Greek morals. My kids went to Socrates; they speak, read, write Greek. [...] Απ’ την άλλη, αυτά έχουν μεγαλώσει [On the other side, they have grown] in a multi-ethnic society. [...] When I take my son to hockey now, there’s three Greeks, three French-Canadians, three Armenians, two Lebanese kids, two Italian kids. Then he plays soccer in the summer. Again – multi-ethnic. They go to karate... like, times have changed.”

- Participant GR202

There is further division to the sociological reality aspect of this generation when it comes to how they feel as citizens of a multicultural city such as Montreal. As mentioned previously, there are strong attachments to both the Greek and Montreal communities, but to varying degrees. One participant stated that he felt stronger attachment to Montreal than to Greece, but his way of living, in terms of chances to succeed and progress, were very much immigrant.

“[...] because we might have Greek identity [as Canadians], but the way we live... we’re immigrants in the way we live. And the chance to succeed, I feel I have a better chance here than I would, let’s say, in Greece. No matter what.”

- Participant GR201

There were also strong feelings of attachment to Montreal because all the participants had children of various ages in Montreal, and they wanted to be with them as they were growing up.

“Right now, my attachment is to Montreal, because my kids are young, they’re growing up here, and they’re in a stage in their life where I need to be by their side.”

- Participant GR202

However, that is not to say that the attachment to Montreal is always positive. There were instances where the participants spoke about changes happening that have created mixed feelings. One participant stated that, while the Greeks in Montreal have always been more traditional, compared to the current generation of Greeks in Greece, she has begun to notice a change in Greek-Montrealers that could be construed as assimilation.

“[...] whereas I find here [in Montreal], we’re a lot more conservative and traditional. [...] Because if we don’t [maintain it], then at some point it’s all going to... like already I think it’s starting [to change] with them [the younger generation].”

- Participant GR203

In this case, this participant was referring to the Greek traditions and identity that have come to be synonymous with Montreal’s Greek community over the past few decades, and expressing her concerns over how it is starting to change and resemble the identity of Greeks from Greece, who have also changed over time.

There is also the issue of how this generation feels in the city as citizens. Where members of the previous generation were – and felt like – immigrants for much of their time in the city, it is not as clear-cut with this generation. They expressed feeling like strangers in their home city for a number of reasons, ranging from the new waves of migration that are arriving to the local identity politics that many immigrant groups have been drawn into over the years.

“[...] and that’s only now. Because of the Arabs that have moved here in Chomedey. They’re taking over Montreal, and they’re loud about it.”

- Participant GR203

“When they talk politics, and this “On est au Québec...” [We are in Quebec...], you know, that [French-English division] bothers me. I find, like, a naiveness in these people. Like, why? Let’s just work together.”

- Participant GR204

Yet again, however, it is not always the case. On the other side, there are people who do not feel like strangers, and see it as an advantage that they are able to be a part of the community in Montreal and be capable of speaking three languages, such as the participant described below.

“No. I feel fully – I am fully trilingual. I speak French as good as a Frenchman, I could speak French slang as good as a Frenchman, because I grew up in that environment at Collège Français, at my dad’s dépanneur [...]”

- Participant GR205

Where the first generation was defined by its closeness and sense of community, this generation is the most spread out across the territory of the metropolitan area. This process gradually unfolded throughout their lives to date, but they also got the chance to live through the period of closeness that defined the first generation. They are old enough to remember how things were back when their parents were still recent immigrants new to the city. One participant remembered how his mother would help newly arrived immigrants settle by offering them a place to stay and assistance in finding work.

“[...] the reason we moved, because on Saint-Urban, it was like a core, it was like a base – anybody immigrating, my mom would take them in and have them stay there until they could settle, find their own place, find work [...]”

- Participant GR204

He also remembered how the home was another setting for this closeness within the community, stating that no matter how difficult the times were, at least they had each other.

“[...] I was amazed by how these people... they always socialize. They didn’t have much, but they were able to manage... celebrating and getting together and spending as much time together. I’m telling you, I was amazed. Then I didn’t know, but now I realize... these people, like every weekend we would either go somewhere, or you know. We were a unit.”

- Participant GR204

Another thing that defines this generation is their understanding of how they – and the community they live in – have changed over time. Growing up, they lived in Greek neighbourhoods, with Greek neighbours and Greek businesses, such as shops, restaurants, bakeries, and pharmacies, among others, in their immediate environment. However, as one

participant put it, when the Greeks moved to the suburbs, so did many of the businesses, resulting in a mini diaspora within the greater Hellenic diaspora of Montreal.

“Some businesses took their business to areas where there’s more Greeks. Bottom line. Supermarkets, which is normal. So Ville-Saint-Laurent and Chomedey expanded in that aspect. Hence why Mourelatos went there, eventually PA Supermarket went there. The need for smaller markets, like Hawaii Supermarket. There’s Grand Marché Col-Fax, Poissonerie Casablanca, Ambrosia Bakery, Serano, Lillie’s, Christina’s, Panama... you name it, it’s all there. Why? The bigger portion of the Greek population moved there. Bottom line. [It’s a] mini diaspora within a small region.”

- Participant GR205

Eventually, according to him, places like Chomedey, Laval, became the new Parc-Extension, with local businesses catering to the newly established Greek population, just more spread out than compared to when they were in Parc-Extension.

“That’s what I love about Chomedey. Chomedey’s turned into a Parc Ex, basically. It’s like a suburban Parc-Ex. You know what? I want my fresh bread, there’s good bakeries. I want good meat, there’s great meat at all the Greek supermarkets. Θέλω φρέσκα ψάρια; [I want fresh fish?] Casablanca, can’t go wrong. [...] And it’s still, again, the same feel as in Parc Ex. You know what, you go inside, you know the people. They know you, for the most part. I’m not afraid to send my son inside and say “Go inside [and tell them who you are] and ask for so-and-so, they’re going to take care of you. It’s just a bigger version.”

- Participant GR205

6.2.3 – Places

As was mentioned previously, this generation is divided into two halves in terms of their lives as Greek-Montrealers. This is equally true for the places that they frequented throughout their lives. In the early parts of their lives, second generation Greek-Canadians often went to where their parents would bring them. These include churches, regional associations, and Greek dances and festivals. However, there were also a few non-Greek places, such as parks or Montreal landmarks, which they would also visit and that still hold meaning today. The places of most significance appear to be places where Greeks lived nearby, such as Mount-Royal Park in the Plateau or Jarry Park, right beside Parc-Extension.

A cultural value is retained among many of the Greek places that this generation visited. Apart from the memories that were created there, they also hold meaning because they were important to them at different stages in their lives. One participant remembers going to St. George's Cathedral in Côte-des-Neiges and the important role that played throughout his younger life.

"[...] It was Saint George's, on Côte-Sainte-Catherine and Wilderton. That was the church that I did my catechism and then I was an altar boy in that church for quite a few years. So I spent a good, I would say, seven, eight years at that church. [...] After I became too old for an altar boy, I went into the scouts, the Greek scouts. [...] I became a venture, which was the older scouts, and we would meet and have our meetings at the church."

- Participant GR201

This participant describes how the activities changed throughout his life, from attending Sunday school, to being an altar boy, to eventually joining the Hellenic boy scouts. For many others, many of these churches were also the places where they got married in, baptized their children, or said goodbye to loved ones for the final time. There were also the regional associations, such as the Cretans' or Zakynthians' associations, which their parents would bring them to until they got old enough to choose whether they wanted to continue going or not.

Today, a lot of these places, and neighbourhoods they were in, are visited mostly for the cultural nostalgia associated with them, as many of the Greek inhabitants and businesses that used to be there have left, leaving very few Greek places behind.

"What's funny is... there's nothing much left in Parc-Ex from a Greek aspect. But I still know, church is church. So there's an attachment there to our culture, to our religion. I'd say it's a cultural attachment, or else I would have no reason to go to Parc Ex. There's just certain niche places... example, Panama Restaurant on Jean-Talon. Village Grec across the street. I know I'm going to go to Panama, I'm going to get a fantastic meal. I know there's nothing Greek left in Parc Ex [...], especially Jean-Talon."

- Participant GR205

By the time this generation had reached their late teenage and young adult years, they began to visit a lot more places around the city. It is in this stage of their lives where they began to visit a variety of places on their own, such as going to downtown Montreal or to the movie theatres with friends or to shopping malls. They still continued to go to Greek places, but much less than they

used to because they were no longer forced to go. It was more of an inherent curiosity about the outside world – the non-Greek world – and the fact that it surrounded them daily, even though they never really grew up in it, which pushed them to explore what else the city had to offer.

Today, much of this generation finds itself having struck a balance between going to Greek places and non-Greek places. The reasons for visiting Greek places are twofold: first, it is because of the cultural and nostalgic feelings associated with the old neighbourhoods, as well as the practicality of having Greek places of commerce in the new neighbourhoods. Respondent GR205, himself involved in the import and export business of Greek products, talked about how his job brings him to many Greek shops and businesses for work, but also for his own shopping needs.

“[...] because of my business, we supply Greek products. So, primarily, our biggest customers are the Greek stores. [...] Any store that’s Greek, or restaurant, we’re pretty much there. I’m always interacting with επιχειρήσεις [businesses].”

- Participant GR205

Secondly, it is in an attempt to bring their kids to these places and to expose them to Greek culture and values so that they maintain them for future generations. As parents now, they have a better understanding of the importance of maintaining the Greek tradition as time passes and how subsequent generations become more likely to marry outside of the Greek community or to stray away from it altogether as they grow up.

On the other side of this balance, this generation also understands that their children are growing up in a multicultural society and want them to feel as integrated as possible. While there is a fine line to cross between integrating and assimilating, the consensus among the second-generation respondents was that they wanted their children to grow up with a mix of Greek and Canadian cultures and values. As such, they would bring them to activities such as hockey and karate, but also attempt to take them to Greek dancing lessons.

6.2.4 – Spaces

As is usually the case with spaces previously occupied by immigrant populations, the spaces that used to be occupied by the first generation of Greek-Montrealers in the 1960s and 1970s, and where the second generation grew up, hold special meaning to this cohort of participants. As much of this generation spent their time growing up in the Plateau, Parc Avenue has become an

important space to them, as much for the nostalgia factor that is associated with it as well as the meaning and symbolism that it possesses today. Parc Avenue had become such an important space altogether for Greek-Montrealers, they termed it *Τα Παρκαβενείικα* (Ta Parkaveneika, loosely translated to 'The Parc Avenue Region').

"[...] that's where a lot of Greeks that grew up lived in that area. That's where a lot of the socializing, the commercial activity, took place on Parc Avenue."

- Participant GR201

Additionally, because there was a central space such as *Τα Parkaveneika* that all Greek-Montrealers could relate to, it further proves how the community itself was like a *chorio* (χωριό), or village, and a testament to the sentiment of closeness that was created by the first generation. Furthermore, because many of the shops at the time were local, there was no feeling of anonymity within the community and it truly felt like a small village where everybody knew each other.

That same sense of familiarity was also present in the residential neighbourhoods that used to exist. At the time, Parc-Extension was Montreal's Greek neighbourhood, with almost the entire population and the businesses and institutions in it all being Greek. This further adds to the feeling of an urban village that existed in Parc-Ex.

"All Greek, all Greek, all Greek. Greeks to your left, Greeks to your right, Greeks in front of you, Greeks in the lane. All the families knew each other. All the kids played. Our mothers couldn't get us inside the house when we lived in Parc-Ex, and they didn't worry about us. They knew we were in the back, in the lane and all the neighbourhood kids were playing. [...] It was our χωριό [village]. It was a Greek χωριό [village] and the parents didn't worry about letting... [...] you'd hear the mothers would come, literally, to the balconies in the backyard, and scream for their kids to come with no fear. [Do] you know what it is to leave kids who are 6 to 12 years old until 11 o'clock at night play freely and you weren't worried? [...] Because our parents came from somewhere where in the χωριό [village], you were loose."

- Participant GR205

Equally important for this generation of Greek-Montrealers in terms of spaces were the front of house and the back alleys. As children, these are the spaces where they would spend much of their time playing and socializing with other kids. GR204 and GR205 reminisced about his time

growing up in these spaces. While the Greek neighbourhood represents an important, all-encompassing space for this generation, it is actually composed of many smaller spaces, each with its own importance to the people of this generation. The fronts of houses and back alleys, especially, were lively spaces filled with kids playing while growing up.

“We would play in front of our house all the time. Hockey on the sidelines [...] or the lanes. We grew up in the lanes, too. There... a lot of hide-and-go-seek and we’d go in the lanes...”

- Participant GR204

“[...] playing street hockey, playing baseball in the lanes, riding bikes. [...] People don’t understand what it was. If you didn’t live playing in the lanes... and we’d play street hockey. Our lane against another lane. We were the Querbes-de l’Épée lane and we’d play hockey against another lane.”

- Participant GR205

Both these testimonials show how public spaces as informal as the fronts of houses and back alleys played an important role in the development of these people throughout their youth.

Another important reason the existence and maintenance of Greek spaces by this generation is that they want to expose their children – the third generation – to these kinds of environments. This is done in an effort to have them be more involved in the Greek community and to not lose their Greek identities. However, while the Greek spaces continue to exist today, it is often difficult for the parents to bring their kids to them to socialize and interact, especially with how hectic their schedules get with other activities that take precedent.

6.2.5 – People

This generation represents the first large contingent of Greeks to be born in Montreal. As with the previous two conceptual dimensions (places and spaces) studied, the same can be said about the people in their lives: there is a clear distinction between the early parts of their lives and the later parts, coming to a balance in the present day.

What is interesting about this generation is that they are the first to establish and experience the multi-generational home in the Greek-Canadian community of Montreal. Their parents or in-laws – usually other first generation Greek-Montrealers – would sometimes live in the same house or building as them. This made it easier for both parents to go to work and have someone stay at

home to help take care of their children. When it came time to look for a home, they would often look for homes that could house many people, while still giving privacy to its occupants. One participant described it as such when talking about what he was looking for when he purchased his most recent home.

“We were looking specifically for a... what we call a multi-generation home. Because of my wife’s family’s situation. To have her mother – my mother-in-law – with us, but in a separate dwelling. So the basement is all hers. It has its own kitchen, as well. [...] The basement’s closed off with its own kitchen. So it’s multi-generational.”

- Participant GR201

Proximity to family is something that is very important to this generation. All the participants described how, at one point or another, they lived either with, or near to, extended family members. Again, this goes back to the previous generation and how they lived close to each other for support and guidance.

While the neighbourhoods they lived while growing up were culturally homogeneous, they now live in far more heterogeneous and mixed neighbourhoods. This does not bother them, as they are more capable of living with difference than the previous generation was.

“The neighbourhood is quiet – very quiet – and it’s a good mix of people. My neighbours are Italian, Armenian, Romanian, and a lot of Greek. Diagonally across, there is quite a few Greek people in that area as well.”

- Participant GR201

Their friendships are also very mixed. While they all have Greek friends, there were some cases where the participants described their closest friends as being non-Greeks. In some cases, these friendships date back many years, and are the results of growing up in certain neighbourhoods where there were not just Greeks, or going to high school with kids of other nationalities, or simply because circumstances, such as work, have made it so.

“I could say that my two closest friends are not Greek. [...] It was comfortable being part of the Greek community, but I did not forget I was also Canadian, and that my ties had to spread beyond the Greek community. It was almost like a double identity.”

- Participant GR201

“[...] one of my best friends, he’s Scottish. I never would have thought a Σκωτσέζο [Scotsman] would have been one of my closest friends growing up. But, it’s people from the environment that you’re in. And in my business, I do business a lot with Italians. So έχω και [I also have] Italian friends.”

- Participant GR205

Additionally, this generation understands the importance of dealing with non-Greeks in terms of the professional opportunities that it presents them, as well as how they want to help their kids to achieve success in the future.

“[...] being in a French environment helped me a lot in my professional career. I work with mostly French people, and that’s why I’m pushing my kids. Instead of bringing them, let’s say to – not to Greek school – but I’m trying to push their French as maximum because I know how important it is the French language here. The French language has helped me a lot to grow professionally. It is important in Quebec to know good French.”

- Participant GR205

To be able to understand the advantages that being able to interact with non-Greeks on a daily, professional basis already put this generation ahead of the previous one in terms of how successful they were going to be moving up in the careers. It also sets up the next generation to be just as successful, if not more, because they will have already grown up much better equipped than their parents’ generation to take on more globalized professional landscapes.

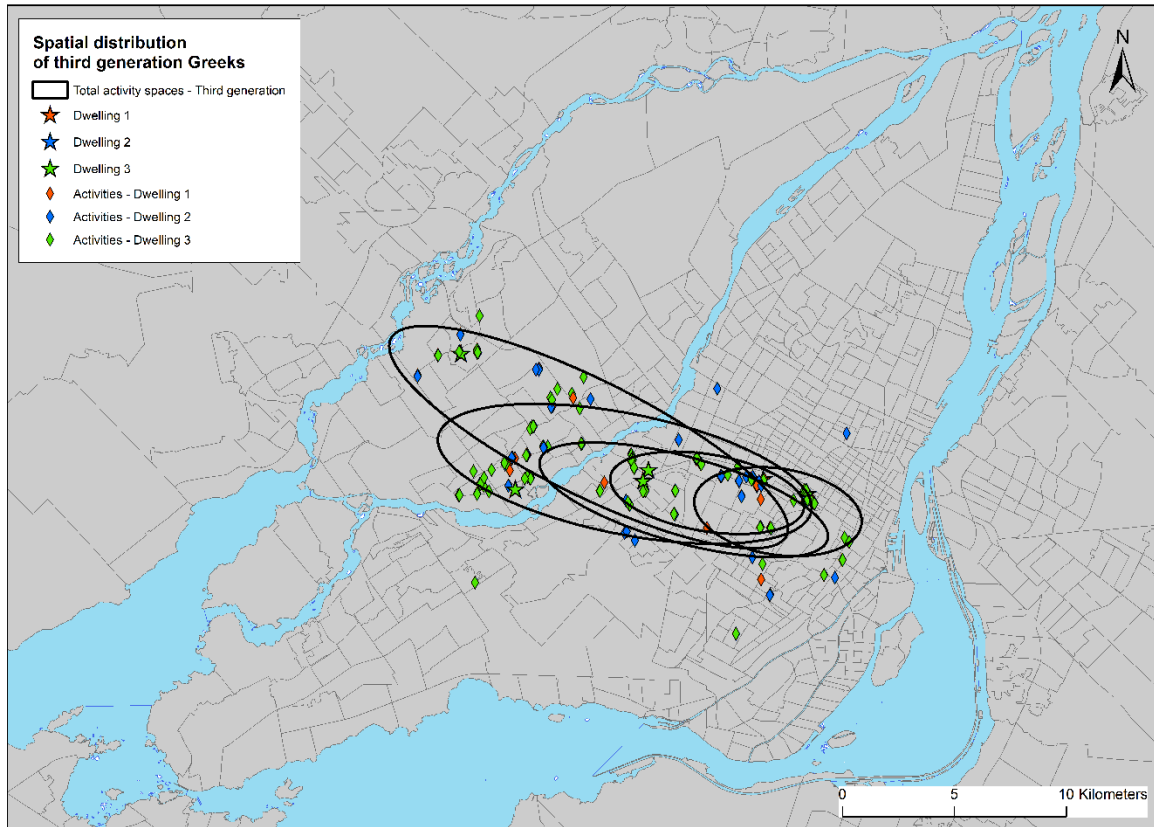
6.3 – Results and analysis for the third generation

Table 5 – Summary table for the third generation

Places	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access to places is virtually limitless: could live in suburbs and take part in activities in the city • Consistent mix of Greek and non-Greek places; not like previous generation where there were high and lows • Cultural/regional associations most frequently visited places in youth, especially with grandparents
Spaces	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Spaces exist beyond physical limitations: technological advancements have allowed them to stay connected with family, friends, current events in Greece • Physical spaces have evolved throughout time, but have always featured a mixture of Greek and Canadian cultures • Sense of reclamation of Greek spaces to keep heritage, culture alive for future generations
People	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exposure to diversity • Do not necessarily feel like strangers, but prefer to stick with Greeks, other like-minded ethnicities • Understand importance of interacting with non-Greeks for professional reasons • Strong parental influence growing up

6.3.1 – Cartographic analysis of the third generation

Map 5 - Spatial distribution of third generation Greeks across three dwellings



Source and cartography: Athanasios Boutas, 2019

The argument could be made that this map is incomplete and still a work in progress. The reason for that being that the participants for this generation are still living at home, and as such, the map is not entirely representative of them as Greek-Montrealers. However, the fact of the matter is that this generation, in starting off, is also relatively spread out in space.

The first thing that sticks out with this map is, yet again, the linear northward axis leading from the Plateau to Laval. At this point, the action spaces and the activity spots follow a path similar to that of Highway 15, which connects Montreal to Laval. The total shape of the ellipses is almost similar to that of the second generation. The action spaces across three dwellings are much more spread out across the territory of Montreal and much more present in Laval, with one noticeable cluster in the Chomedey, Laval area.

Because of the lack of life experience for this generation, it will be interesting to see what effect life events such as getting married and moving out will have on the shapes and distributions of action spaces and activity points for this generation.

6.3.2 – Sociological reality and description of the third generation

The sociological reality of the third generation of Greek-Montrealers is at the same time the most complete and incomplete of all three. Having been born to Greek-Canadian parents and raised in a Montreal that is very multicultural, they have had the most exposure to difference and diversity in the city. However, this cohort is still very young and does not have the same life experiences as the previous generations, hence why it is still incomplete.

For this generation, who for the most part are just now starting to live their lives, growing up was often a mix of Greek and Canadian cultures, often with the feeling that there was a push towards a stronger integration into Canadian society. Having reached adult age now, however, there is a feeling among the cohort of this generation to stick to their Greek roots and stay as ethnic as possible while living in a multicultural city.

Additionally, having been raised in a multicultural city such as Montreal, this generation is also the most open and accepting of difference and change. Their social groups, while including mostly other Greeks, also include people of various other ethnicities, religions, and backgrounds. They are much more open-minded when compared to the previous two generations.

Interestingly enough, there is a divide between the participants as to whether or not they felt more at home in Montreal or in Greece. While they acknowledged their attachments to Montreal as the city in which they were born and raised in, they also acknowledged that there was a strong attachment to Greece. In some cases, the attachment to Greece was stronger. One participant described it as feeling as if she felt she belonged more in Greece with other Greeks than in Montreal.

“I feel like they’re my people more than the people here. I have more of a sense of belonging when I’m there [in Greece] than here, even though I grew up here. [...] I don’t feel like a stranger in Montreal, but because I’ve been here for so long, but I still, like I said, I don’t feel, I still don’t – there’s this sense of belonging that’s missing. Even if I feel like I belong a little bit, I will never feel 100% the sense of belonging here.”

- Participant GR301

Another participant described feeling neutrally attached to both, in the sense that one is where she grew up and the meaning of the city is different, and the other is the place where she made her best memories, where her family lives, and where her roots are from.

"[...] because there's a lot of attachment here. But I feel like the attachment here is just with the people, not necessarily the place where I live. But at the same time, there's a lot of nostalgic places... [...] and in terms of Greece] it's Greece. Family is a big thing, lots of memories with people there, my family, my friends. I don't know if it would be the same if I lived there, but because you're there and it's so short-lived [...] I feel attached and want to stay there."

- Participant GR302

Still, others, while feeling an attachment to Greece, felt like there is a stronger attachment to Montreal, no matter how many times they have visited Greece. This is because it is the place they have spent all of their lives until now.

"[...] because Montreal is where you've grown up, you've made your most connections. Both [...] with physical places and the way we live here. The lifestyle in Montreal is not at all the same as it is in Greece. So, I think, lifestyle-wise and physical places-wise, I feel like I'm more attached to Montreal than I am to Greece."

- Participant GR303

Regardless of whether or not the participants felt more attached to Montreal or to Greece, they all felt a much stronger attachment to the Greek community in Montreal than to the local, native community. This is because they were raised within the community, often going to school on weekdays or weekends, going to Greek dancing lessons, and growing up in neighbourhoods where there were still some Greeks around, as well as because they are not as immersed within the local culture as one would think they are.

"[...] because I don't know what it is to be Québécois, I guess. Like, I'm not... I don't... like Saint-Jean-Baptiste is not something I celebrate. [...] Even, like, Montreal, since it is so multicultural, I don't know if there's anything as being a Montrealer. Like, I don't know how to associate with that. Because it has so many different cultures and everyone is so different."

- Participant GR303

"[...] because growing up, it was always the Greek community, and my parents put a lot of emphasis in having Greek friends, and knowing Greek, and maintaining the culture. And I didn't really get to experience, I don't know... the non-Greek life, I guess."

- Participant GR304

"[...] just because I've been used to it for a longer time. Like I said, I used to be completely immersed in that community, and just the way I was raised. So if you told me I had to pick one of the two, I would probably pick the Greek community since I have more attachment to it."

- Participant GR305

All this is in spite of having been born and raised in Montreal and having lived all their lives in the city, often having only gone to Greece for vacation. The fact that Montreal represents their daily lives and they have more of a sense of belonging within the Greek community, combined with the increased sense of belonging that they feel when they go to Greece, makes it so that their attachment to Greece, and the community, as well, is much stronger.

Interestingly, a new dual identity emerges for this generation: they live two lives that are at the same time separate from one another but also co-dependent on one another. Their lifestyles are Canadian only because of the city they live in, but Greek by the people they associate with and the activities they partake in. While they may live in the suburbs, they find ways to surround themselves with Greek culture. This is done in appreciation to their Greek heritage, and in an effort to continue preserving it.

In addition to all of the above, this generation is the most socially and technologically advanced of all three generations. They have very varied groups of friends and have a number of ways to keep in touch with them, as well as with relatives in Greece. This is thanks to recent technological advancements in communications and media information, such as the internet and the new methods of communication it has brought about. Many of the participants spoke about the use of the internet as a means of keeping in touch with family in Greece, as well as keeping up with news and events in the country.

“The majority of my family is in Greece. My immediate family is here, from my mom’s side, but all of my dad’s side is in Greece [... and] my dad lives in Greece. [...] And the internet does help, because we could message and call each other easier and [for] cheap.”

- Participant GR301

“[...] yes, technology helps a lot. Like, I FaceTime my close cousin every week.”

- Participant GR302

“Now with technology, I am more in touch with my family and stuff like that. And with TV, we could watch the Greek news, Greek soap operas, and stuff like that.”

- Participant GR304

Their strong attachment to Greece could also be explained by this technology, as having it has allowed them to connect easier and faster with Greece more than the second generation did previously, and to a lesser degree the first generation (only because they were immigrants and the attachment was always going to be strong).

As it stands, none of the participants was yet married and all were still living at home with their parents. Much of their realities are going to change as they go through different steps of life and they eventually reach the current ages of the first and second generations.

6.3.3 – Places

Very much like the second generation, this generation often accompanied their parents and grandparents in going to Greek places during their youth. These included going to churches and regional associations. Furthermore, because their parents’ generation was often in better financial situations than the previous generation, they were able to attend private Greek elementary school.

As this generation grew up and started going to places on their own, they also began to go to traditionally non-Greek places. These include places like malls and shopping centres, coffee shops, and movie theatres. Among the Greek places they visit, it is mostly Greek coffee shops in Montreal and Laval. What is interesting is that they would go by their own choice, and not because they

were obligated to go. They chose to continue to go to Greek places because they wanted to be there.

“[...] on my own. I started going to the church youth group, which was for teenagers. With my own will, it was not forced upon me. I continued dancing until I was an adult because I wanted to.”

- Participant GR301

In many cases, they continue to visit many of the same places nowadays because they either teach dances or are involved with their regional association in some capacity.

6.3.4 – Spaces

The spaces that define this generation while growing up were mostly those that were created by their parents and grandparents, which they were brought to for different social and extracurricular activities. As such, cultural associations became important in that they served as the spaces where a new generation of Greek-Montrealers could meet and make friends from a similar background.

Because this generation did not grow up in an ethnic neighbourhood as the previous generation did, they did not have the same spaces as them. They did not necessarily have the street alleys and back lanes to play in like the previous generation did. They also did not speak about the sense of community or *chorio* (village) that was felt amongst the previous generation. If anything, the spaces that are most dominant for this generation are the social spaces that were created in malls during their teenage years or, more recently, in coffee shops. All the participants spoke about going to malls or to coffee shops at one point or another in their lives to hang out with their friends.

For the first time, the physical barriers of the city are no longer an obstacle for this generation. They are not limited by the constraints of the city's limits, and are able to create spaces that go beyond physical places. This can be seen with how they interact with friends and family members in online settings. They are able to live integrated, Greek-Canadian lives in Montreal, while at the same time know what is happening in Greece.

Additionally, this generation has also shown to be more fluid in terms of their spaces. The actual spaces they frequent are not always set in one place, and can rotate among a number of places. For them, it is more who they are with rather than the place they are at that makes the space.

“[...] I remember, after school, or during the summer, like after exams, I would go with my friends to Monkland Street and just go to different stores and [hang out].”

- Participant GR305

It appears that the notion of ‘space’ does not hold the same meaning for this generation as it did for previous generations. This is likely because they are the most integrated into Canadian society to date and they can easily transition between their Greek lives and their Canadian lives.

6.3.5 – People

Once again, as with the previous generation, the people who defined this generation’s early years were the members of their immediate family. They were fully surrounded by Greeks, and their grandparents played an important role in helping to raise them. What is more, this generation also experienced what it is like to live in a multi-generational home: there were instances where their grandparents would be living either with the family, or in an apartment in the same building. This meant that the family unit remained close and tight-knit under one single roof and that both parents and grandparents were important influences to this generation during their formative years.

“I actually lived with my grandparents, and I still do live with my grandparents. So our house is very much the way my mother grew up. [...] The relationship I have with my grandparents is like they’re my parents. [...] because my grandmother is like another mother, and my grandfather is, actually, like the father figure in the house.”

- Participant GR301

This generation places a lot of importance on maintaining friendships with other Greeks. While it is not necessarily a priority for them, they see the value in interacting with people who come from similar background and can understand them better than other people could. Oftentimes, these friendships have lasted many years, some dating as far back as elementary school.

“All my friends are Greek. [...] My friends were always Greek growing up. Like, even in high school, that I went to a non-Greek high school, the Greeks just merged together. I know people – there’s acquaintances I have – that are non-Greeks, but it’s not people that I will call every day to hang out.”

- Participant GR301

“I mean, when I was younger it was important [to interact with other Greeks]. Just because there were certain things that... I don’t know, it’s easier when your friend knows exactly how your parents think, how your upbringing is, what your traditions are, and stuff like that... but it wasn’t like “Oh my God, my friends have to be Greek.” Like I said, in elementary school and high school, a lot of my friends were Greek in high school; elementary school, practically none of my friends were Greek, except for my friends from the σύλλογο [association].”

- Participant GR302

“I still interact a lot with Greeks, because I still think it’s important, but I don’t think it’s important to only interact with those. I think it’s important to interact with different cultures, so you aren’t closed-minded, you’re more open-minded that way.”

- Participant GR305

For all of the participants, it was also important, but not a requirement, to marry another Greek person. The justification behind this was that it would simplify things such as the marriage and raising children.

“I feel in the future, when it comes to marriage, yes [it is important that they are Greek].”

- Participant GR302

This generation has also been exposed to diversity more so than any previous generation, and as such are much more accepting and open-minded towards non-Greeks. This is in part because of their relationships to spaces in the city, which allow them to meet different people. Furthermore, they continue to understand the importance of having relationships outside the Greek community, especially when it comes to matters of advancing professionally, but also in their personal relationships.

“It’s nice to have relationships with people that are different. Like, one of my really good friends and colleagues that I work with, she’s Russian. [...] It’s good for networking and knowing people.”

- Participant GR302

“[...] It’s not good to just restrict ourselves to just Greeks. So, I do make sure to have my balance. [...] Montreal is very multicultural and you need to learn to be multicultural, as well, if you want to live in Montreal. You can’t be closed-

minded, [...] you really need to experience and know cultures other than your own."

- Participant GR303

However, despite being more open-minded about other nationalities, most of the participants expressed a belief in the importance of maintaining their Greek ethnic identity, not just for themselves, but for other Greeks as well.

"I think it's really important. Like, when I see people that maybe don't want to put their kids in Socrates [School] or something like that, it gets me angry, because, even though we don't live in Greece, we are Greek and sooner or later, if we don't try to maintain it, it will get lost."

- Participant GR304

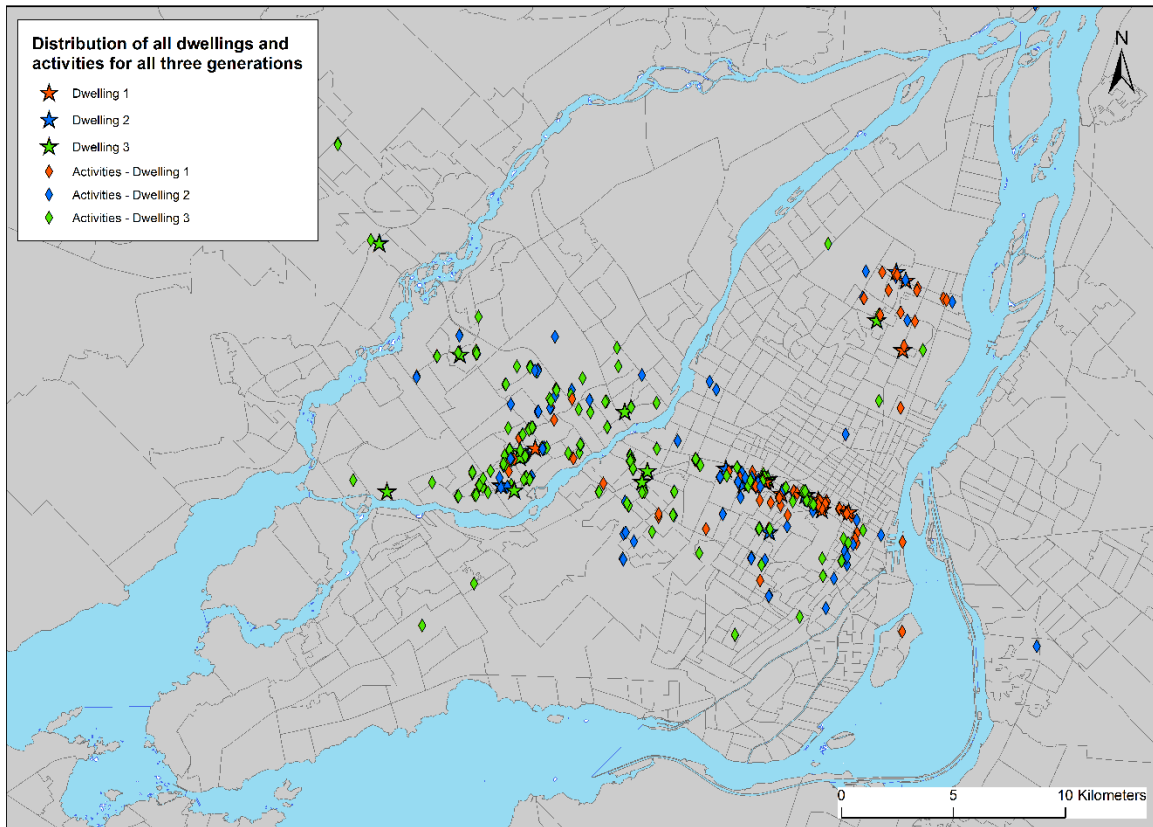
They have also met other Greeks who have essentially fully assimilated into Canadian society by the third generation, and this troubles them, but they also understand that it is a part of the society that they live in.

"I've met people that are Greek but don't know, like, one word of Greek, don't know where their grandparents are from, and I find that sad."

- Participant GR304

6.4 – Cartographic analysis of all three generations

Map 6 - Distribution of all dwellings and activities for all three generations



Source and cartography: Athanasios Boutas, 2019

This map shows in detail how, over the course of approximately 60 years, a clear path of migration has developed for Montreal's Greek community. This map shows that there are three clusters of activities in the Greater Montreal Area:

- The Plateau: this cluster of activities represents the area where the first generation of Greek immigrants settled upon their arrival. The action spaces for this cluster are small and mostly concentrated in this area.
- Parc-Extension: this cluster of activities represents the place where Greek immigrants moved to after they had established themselves, and each of the three generations has activities in this neighbourhood.
- Chomedey, Laval: this third cluster represents the latest step in the evolution of the Greek neighbourhood, which is not so much a neighbourhood anymore, as it is mostly a hub now. Having reached this area, the action spaces are much larger and spread out across

the Greater Montreal Area, with Greek places and spaces spread throughout. Chomedey, however, is the new central point of this hub.

In addition to following the chronological progression of Montreal's Greek population, the map also shows that there was an increase in social and physical mobility. The first generation, which was not very mobile, rented in apartments and in proximity to public transit services such as the metro. By the time of the second and third generations, there is clearly an increase in mobility, as they can now afford to purchase homes in the suburbs and do not require living close to public transit, as they are able to get around using highways. These are signs of increases in social and physical mobility due to intergenerational progress.

This map is also coherent with the quantitative data presented in Chapter 2.4, which showed that Montreal's Greek immigrants and its ethnic Greek population were concentrated on the west side of Saint-Laurent Boulevard. The map above illustrates a similar phenomenon, where the Plateau-Laval axe acts as a sort of border in which Greek-Montrealers stray out from very much.

Chapter 7 – Discussion

This chapter will discuss some of the key takeaways from the results and look at how they relate to each other across all three generations. It will return to the theories presented in chapter 4 and the frameworks presented in chapter 5 and put into perspective the observations made across the entire scientific process of this project.

The results show that, to varying degrees, each generation of Greek-Montrealers has adopted Canadian lifestyles, whether it be in their residential trajectories, social practices, consumption habits, or professional endeavours. In spite of this, they still make efforts to surround themselves with other Greeks, with each generation having its reasons for doing so. For the first generation, the reason was that they had just arrived, and, as immigrants, were limited in their options in terms of residential choice. For them, segregation was not a choice; it was forced upon them because of the circumstances of their sociodemographic situation. Furthermore, lack of accessibility and mobility made it difficult for them to get around any further than the bus could take them. For the second generation, it was because they found themselves at a cultural crossroads, in which they were being raised one way and experiencing the world outside their home in another. This shows that, already, there was a change occurring within the community that was being driven by increased mobility and accessibility to the city. For the third generation, the reason is that they want to maintain their ethnic identity and honour their heritage. They voluntarily choose to immerse themselves primarily into Greek culture and to be attached to it as much as possible.

Where being surrounded by Greeks could be seen as a constraint for the first generation, it has transformed into an aspiration for the second and, especially, the third generations. They do not have the same limitations as their parents and grandparents had, yet they choose to surround themselves with other Greeks. This is evidenced by the fact that members of the second and third generations live in multigenerational homes, done for reasons of familiarity, security, and wanting to keep their heritage intact. Therefore, segregation in this case – as a choice, and if it can truly be called that – is not limited by mobility. Second and third generation Greek-Montrealers live their residential lives in a North American manner (i.e. in the suburbs), go to North American jobs and schools and other places, but do so while also living lifestyles that allow them to be and feel Greek.

Based on these results and this first point of discussion, the question ought to be asked: Is there still a Greek neighbourhood today in Montreal? Does it exist as a place or a space, or a combination of both? The traditional ethnic neighbourhood, as described and experienced in classic literature, is very much the neighbourhood that the first generation of Greek-Montrealers lived in when they first arrived. It was an inner-city, working-class neighbourhood, in this case the Plateau and later on Parc-Ex, in which people from the same ethnic background lived in close physical and social proximity to one another. Traces of Montreal's Greek history still exist around the city today: in the Plateau and in Parc-Extension there remain a few shops and churches, as well as the offices and meeting halls for a few of the regional associations. Furthermore, there are landmarks that are still present from the time the community lived in those places. This is in addition to new ones that have been promoted by Community and municipal officials to mark the importance of the Greeks in the history and fabric of Montreal. An example of this would be a statue dedicated to Greek immigrants that was erected at the corner of Jean-Talon and Parc Avenue, where the Plateau and Parc-Extension meet. Symbolically, this holds value to Greek-Montrealers because it is at a place that had come to be known as a central Greek location. Finally, of course, there are the people. These are the Greeks that either could not, or chose not to, move to the suburbs, and remain in the historically Greek neighbourhoods, amid all the change that was happening around them.

If that described the Greek neighbourhood of the past, then the Greek neighbourhood of today definitely has a different appearance and feel to it. Rather than existing in its traditional form, as described above, the Greek neighbourhood today exists more as a network that covers the metropolitan area of the city. Greek-Montrealers today are more dispersed than ever across the Greater Montreal Area, and as such, it becomes more difficult to pinpoint an exact location for a Greek neighbourhood. The closest thing, perhaps, would be Chomedey, Laval, with its high concentration of Greeks who live there. However, as was discussed, the neighbourhood is more than the people who live in it, and Chomedey has a different feel than the Plateau or Parc-Extension used to have. Greek shops are found across the metropolitan area, as are churches, schools, and the regional associations. Additionally, Greek events, such as festivals, sporting events, and parties, also happen across the metropolitan area. Therefore, it can be said that the Greek neighbourhood has transformed: it has grown and expanded along with its population to reach a far greater expanse than it did in the past. Greeks, Greek places, Greek spaces, and Greek

activities all still exist, but the forms have changed and adapted with the current realities of the city and the people.

If the Greek neighbourhood has transformed and expanded as observed, where does that leave all the Greeks? As the results of the interviews and the maps have suggested, there are Greeks everywhere in the Greater Montreal Area: there are Greeks that still live in the inner-city neighbourhoods of the Plateau and Parc-Extension, Greeks that live in first-ring suburbs, such as Cartierville and Ville-Saint-Laurent, and Greeks that live in off-island suburbs, such as Laval and the North Shore. This is not counting the Greeks who live in the West Island (both on-island and off-island) and those who live in the South Shore.

Very much like how the growing Greek community has made it so that spaces, networks, and lifestyles have evolved and become more fluid, so has the Greek population itself. The interviews showed that it is possible to live in the suburbs and go into the city to live a Greek lifestyle, and vice versa. It is also possible to live a Greek lifestyle without going into the city, as there are now many places and spaces in the suburbs that cater to the Greek community. Therefore, with so much movement going on, the notion of a Greek hub has come to replace the Greek neighbourhood. The hub allows for people, businesses, and cultural, religious, and social venues to exist in a non-traditional sense. People become connected to the hub, but it is not a part of their everyday lives. The realities of their everyday lives involve moving around and being fluid within the city, but still holding on to the hub and its cultural and symbolic values.

Finally, not to counter the classical theories, which clearly applied to Greeks in Montreal until the 1990s, but these new perspectives on the city and mobility, as well as how generations of immigrants live and experience the city, allow for more precision in the understanding of the transition of a neighbourhood into a hub by raising further questions. This can be used to understand how Greeks in other cities have changed across time, but also how other ethnic groups in Montreal have transformed, as well. For instance, what results would a similar study on Montreal's Italian population yield? Or how about Sydney, Australia's Greek population?

In the case of Greek-Montrealers, it is obvious that, after three generations, they have not fully assimilated into Canadian society. In fact, they have achieved a rather successful integration in which both their identities complement each other through their residential choices, their lifestyles, and their day-to-day activities. They have struck a balance by living Greek lifestyles in

North American suburbs. They take part in both Greek and non-Greek activities, and, as the generations passed, have become more open and accepting to diversity and change. Based on this, what are the perspectives for the fourth generation of Greek-Montrealers? Because of the fact that the third generation is more adamant to holding on to their culture and heritage, it is quite likely that these traditions will be passed down to the next generation. With a sample size this small, it is impossible to tell to what degree the next generation will want to and attempt to hold on to their heritage. Studies on other immigrant populations with a longer migration history may be able to point to a general direction, but with no decisiveness because of differences in history and culture.

Furthermore, what the interviews have shown is that there is a change in Greek culture, both in Montreal and in Greece. As Greeks in Greece have changed with the times and become more in touch with the global community – it could be even argued that they have become too Americanized – does it become a moot point to hold on to the old Greek culture and traditions? If there is one commonality that ties the 15 participants across three generations, it is their shared love and passion for their ethnic heritage, culture, and faith, no matter what their specific intergenerational differences. It is an interesting perspective to examine, as Greek-Canadians are the ones that are worried and wondering about the future of Greek culture and traditions. From their points of view, they are the ones who are holding on to these more than those who should actually be doing so.

The above two points bring rise to the next question about mobility and its impact on younger generations of Greeks, both in Greece and abroad. Is it possible that a continued increase in mobility makes Greeks more transnational, regardless of whether or not they are born in Greece or somewhere else? This is an important question to ask, as technology makes it ever the easier to get around, thus shrinking the world and changing the significance of borders. This will certainly have an impact on future generations and how they identify as Greeks – whether they be Greek nationals or hyphenated Greeks.

There are, however, limitations to conducting a research project such as this one, specifically in the way in which participants were recruited. As all the participants who took part in the research were recruited either from a primarily Greek seniors' residence or from Greek regional associations, this effectively excluded any Montrealers of Greek origin who did not necessarily

associate themselves with the Greek community. As such, the answers received and the data collected reflect a Greek perspective – or as much as it is possible in a multicultural setting such as Montreal – without considering those who, within the past three generations, have willingly or unwillingly assimilated into the host society.

Additionally, certain key sociodemographic variables, such as education levels and income, were considered in the analysis and the interpretation of the results, but were not the subject of a specific analysis themselves. Even though they were related to the question of residential choices, they were not the main topic of this thesis, which focused on residential choices and lifestyles. Furthermore, there was no basis for comparison or testing the effects of these variables given the small sample size of the participants. The question of financial resources and education were discussed with the participants, but in a controlled manner where they were mostly brought up for contextual reasons.

Finally, it warrants further examination into cities and the ways in which they have evolved. If hubs are to become the new norm moving forward, and communities are no longer entrenched in traditional neighbourhoods, how should cities deal with the influx of people entering and exiting these hubs? In order to answer this question, a number of issues need to be looked at. Because part of accommodating immigrants falls on the shoulders of local and municipal authorities, it is up to them to look at the tools at their disposal, such as master plans, and how they relate to the existing infrastructure involved in getting people to and from these new hubs. Perhaps change is needed at the planning level. They would also have to look at the organization and layout of cities and the hubs themselves. It would involve many resources being put into city planning in order to ensure that cities and hubs are up-to-date and ready to accommodate new people. It is quite possible that this transition from neighbourhood to hub represents the next phase of urban development and the ways in which cities are built and lived in. This brings into question the validity and usefulness of already existing tools and structures and what can be done to make sure that local governments are well prepared for this next stage in urban development. Additionally, it is not just ethnic populations that create hubs, live in them, and are affected by these changes: the same question would have to be looked at for other, different populations in the city.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this thesis, one overarching question was asked pertaining to three generations of Greek-Montrealers and the ways in which each has adapted to and become influenced by the host society in which they have lived in and grown up in. After having conducted a series of interviews and analyzed the results, the following conclusions can be made.

The first generation never fully integrated into Canadian society, but they also never fully segregated themselves, either. They moved around the city to the best of their abilities and by whatever opportunities were presented to them, never deviating far from the community in which they felt most comfortable. Their lifestyles may be reflective of the classical description of segregation, but there were levels of association with the local community that allowed them to partially integrate.

The second generation did a much better job at integrating into Canadian society. Having increased opportunities to become educated and to succeed, they have also become much more mobile than their predecessors were. The path of the community as a whole is reflected in the paths of this generation, from having started in inner city, immigrant neighbourhoods, to having moved out to the suburbs. Additionally, this generation could be credited with having started the change of the Greek neighbourhood into the Greek hub.

The third generation is the most integrated of the three, by far. This generation that has grown up in a variety of places ranging from the old neighbourhoods to the suburbs. They have been much more exposed to diversity than any of the preceding generations were and understand the ways in which multicultural society functions and use that to advance themselves in society. It remains to be seen what the future holds for this generation as they take the next steps in their lives, as they begin to marry and move out.

Overall, the results illustrate that there is a tendency and a trajectory that Greek-Montrealers have followed for the last half-century. There are limits to this; however, as not all Greek-Montrealers will follow the same path as the greater community, as was illustrated by the results. There are a number of reasons for why these deviations exist, and can be justified by looking at the choices, limitations, and aspirations that individuals had at the time they were faced with the prospects of moving.

Moving forward, it will be interesting to see what comes next for the third generation, as well as what could potentially happen with the arrival of the fourth generation of Greek-Montrealers. Much of this rests on the residential choices and lifestyle choices that the second and, especially, third generations will make as they continue to progress. As was seen with the first three generations, the preceding generation always has an effect on the succeeding generation. This will be no different in the future, as the choices of the third generation will be the starting point of the fourth.

It would also be interesting to compare the observations made in this thesis with other, similar observations for other ethnic groups and in other cities. Perhaps these phenomena are localized only to Montreal because of its unique geographical features, such as being an island, or perhaps they exist in other cities but take different shapes and forms unique to them.

Finally, it will be interesting to see how local and municipal governments deal with these changes in urban dynamics. As traditional neighbourhoods continue to give way to hubs, cities will have to make the necessary adjustments in order for people, places, and spaces to coexist harmoniously in this new landscape. These changes can be phased in to allow people time to adjust and get used to them and give local authorities the opportunity to see what works and what does not work.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Ethical approval / Approbation éthique



Comité plurifacultaire d'éthique de la recherche

31 octobre 2018

Monsieur Athanasios Boutas
Candidat à la maîtrise
Faculté de l'aménagement - École d'urbanisme et d'architecture de paysage

OBJET : Approbation éthique

Bonjour,

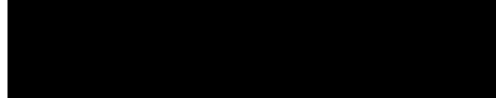
Le Comité plurifacultaire d'éthique de la recherche (CPER) a étudié le projet de recherche intitulé « Évolution et intégration résidentielle de la communauté grecque du Grand Montréal. Une perspective en trois générations. » et a délivré le certificat d'éthique demandé suite à la satisfaction des exigences précédemment émises.

Notez qu'il y apparaît une mention relative à un suivi annuel et que le certificat comporte une date de fin de validité. En effet, afin de répondre aux exigences éthiques en vigueur au Canada et à l'Université de Montréal, nous devons exercer un suivi annuel auprès des chercheurs et étudiants-chercheurs.

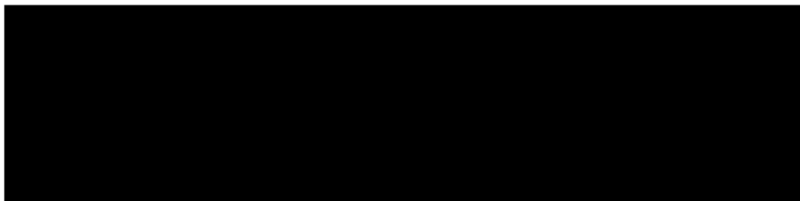
De manière à rendre ce processus le plus simple possible et afin d'en tirer pour tous le plus grand profit, nous avons élaboré un court questionnaire qui vous permettra à la fois de satisfaire aux exigences du suivi et de nous faire part de vos commentaires et de vos besoins en matière d'éthique en cours de recherche. Ce questionnaire de suivi devra être rempli annuellement jusqu'à la fin du projet et pourra nous être retourné par courriel. La validité de l'approbation éthique est conditionnelle à ce suivi. Sur réception du dernier rapport de suivi en fin de projet, votre dossier sera clos.

Il est entendu que cela ne modifie en rien l'obligation pour le chercheur, tel qu'indiqué sur le certificat d'éthique, de signaler au CPER tout incident grave dès qu'il survient ou de lui faire part de tout changement anticipé au protocole de recherche.

Nous vous prions d'agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de nos sentiments les meilleurs.



Comité plurifacultaire d'éthique de la recherche (CPER)
Université de Montréal



Appendix B – Ethics approval certificate / Certificat d’approbation éthique



Comité plurifacultaire d’éthique de la recherche



CERTIFICAT D’APPROBATION ÉTHIQUE

Le Comité plurifacultaire d’éthique de la recherche (CPEP), selon les procédures en vigueur, en vertu des documents qui lui ont été fournis, a examiné le projet de recherche suivant et conclu qu’il respecte les règles d’éthique énoncées dans la Politique sur la recherche avec des êtres humains de l’Université de Montréal.

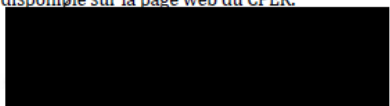
Projet	
Titre du projet	Évolution et intégration résidentielle de la communauté grecque du Grand Montréal. Une perspective en trois générations.
Requérante	Athanasios Boutas [redacted], candidat à la maîtrise, Faculté de l’aménagement - École d’urbanisme et d’architecture de paysage
Sous la direction de	Sébastien Lord, professeur agrégé, Faculté de l’aménagement - École d’urbanisme et d’architecture de paysage, Université de Montréal
Financement	
Organisme	Non financé
Programme	--
Titre de l’octroi si différent	--
Numéro d’octroi	--
Chercheur principal	--
No de compte	--

MODALITÉS D’APPLICATION

Tout changement anticipé au protocole de recherche doit être communiqué au CPEP qui en évaluera l’impact au chapitre de l’éthique.

Toute interruption prématurée du projet ou tout incident grave doit être immédiatement signalé au CPEP.

Selon les règles universitaires en vigueur, un suivi annuel est minimalement exigé pour maintenir la validité de la présente approbation éthique, et ce, jusqu’à la fin du projet. Le questionnaire de suivi est disponible sur la page web du CPEP.



Comité plurifacultaire d’éthique de la recherche
Université de Montréal

31 octobre 2018
Date de délivrance

1^{er} novembre 2021
Date de fin de validité

1^{er} novembre 2019
Date de suivi

Appendix C – Consent form, English version

INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

Evolution of place, space and people in the city in an international migration context. The case of three generations of Greeks in Montréal, Canada.

Who is directing this project?

I, Athanasios Boutas, am a student-researcher in the urban planning master's program of the School of Urban Planning and Landscape Architecture at the University of Montreal. My Research Director is Sébastien Lord, professor at the School of Urban Planning and Landscape Architecture.

Describe the project to me

This research addresses the notion of "home" in the history and in the context of Greek immigration in the Greater Montreal Area. This will be explored, on the one hand, through the process of its reconstruction for an individual who immigrates to Canada, and on the other hand, for the descendants of the first generation of immigrants. The work will address the context of integration from the perspective of habitat, housing and the city in general. The central idea of the project is to understand what facilitates or makes it more difficult for immigrants to integrate into the territory of a city like Montreal and how they manage to rebuild the feeling of being "at home". To do this, the research will analyze immigrants' residential backgrounds in the city as well as the places, people and activities that make up their daily lives.

If I participate, what will I have to do?

As an immigrant or a descendant of an immigrant residing in the territory of Greater Montreal, in the city of / borough of _____, your participation in the research will take the form of an interview of approximately 60 minutes with Athanasios Boutas, urban planning Masters Student. This interview will take place at _____, on _____ / _____ / _____.

Are there any risks or benefits to participating in this research?

By participating in this research, you may be asked to talk about meaningful topics. In addition, you will contribute to the advancement of knowledge about the integration process of immigrants in Montreal, including what facilitates, or not, the settlement process from the point of view of housing and knowledge of the city and its equipment. The results of this research will be used to

feed the reflection on the planning of the city in a context of exchange and globalization as well as at the level of urban and housing policies.

What will you do with my answers?

The interview will be recorded in audio format for transcription purposes. The interview will be done in two stages. First, you will be asked about the circumstances of your family's departure from Greece and their arrival to Montreal, or their life in the Greek community in the Montreal area. Second, you will be asked about settling and integration in Montreal. For example, you will tell us where you live and what places you visit regularly in the city. In addition, you will be asked why you choose to visit these places and why you chose your home and your neighbourhood over another.

Will my personal data be protected?

Yes! All the information you provide to us for this research (interview data, personal information, the places you visit in the city, your comments on them and your views on the city or life in Montreal) will remain confidential. The interviews will be transcribed and the recordings will be destroyed 7 years after the end of the project. After this date, only data that cannot be used to identify you will be kept. No name or initials will be associated with the data you provide us; identification codes will be used to ensure your anonymity. Only the researcher responsible for the project will have access to the coding table allowing the participants to be associated with their answers. The interview records, the transcripts of the interviews and the maps that will be produced will be kept in a locked cabinet in a closed office. No information that will identify you in any way will be released.

If you wish to obtain a summary of the final results of my research, you can ask me and I will send you a summary of my Masters thesis.

Do I have to answer all the questions and go all the way?

No! Your participation is entirely voluntary. You are free to withdraw at any time simply by verbal notice, without prejudice and without having to justify your decision. If you decide to withdraw from the research, you may contact the Research Director at the telephone number listed below. If you withdraw from the search, all information collected at the time of your withdrawal (place of residence, transcripts and recordings) will be destroyed.

Who can I talk to if I have questions during the study?

If you have any questions, you can contact my Research Director at [REDACTED] or at [REDACTED]. Several resources are at your disposal.

This project has been approved by the Multi-Faculty Research Ethics Committee of the University of Montréal. For any concerns about your rights or about the researchers' responsibilities regarding your participation in this project, you can contact the committee by phone at [REDACTED] ext. [REDACTED] or by email at [REDACTED] or consult the website : <http://search.umontreal.ca/participants>.

If you have any complaints about your participation in this research, you can contact the ombudsman (it's a "protector of citizens") at the University of Montréal, at [REDACTED] or at email address [REDACTED] (the Ombudsman accepts collect calls).

How can I agree to participate in the study?

By signing this consent form and giving it to me. I will leave you with a copy of the form that you can keep for future reference.

CONSENT

Participant’s statement

- I understand that I can take my time to think before agreeing or not to participate.
- I can ask questions to the research team and demand satisfactory answers.
- I understand that by participating in this research project, I do not waive any of my rights or release the researchers from their responsibilities.
- I have read this information and consent form and agree to participate in the research project.

I consent to the interview being recorded : Yes _____ No _____

Participant’s signature: _____ Date : _____

Family name _____ Name : _____

Researcher's commitment

I have explained the conditions of participation in the research project to the participant. I responded to the best of my knowledge to the questions asked and made sure of the participant's understanding. I commit myself, along with the research team, to respect what has been agreed to in this information and consent form.

Researcher’s signature: _____ Date : _____

Family name: _____ Name: _____

Appendix D – Consent form, Greek version

ΕΝΤΥΠΟ ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΗΣΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΓΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΗΣ Εξέλιξη και ενσωμάτωση της ελληνικής κοινότητας του Μόντρεαλ. Μια προοπτική σε τρεις γενιές.

Ποιος διαχειρίζεται αυτό το έργο;

Εγώ, ο Αθανάσιος Μπουτάς, είμαι φοιτητής-ερευνητής στο μεταπτυχιακό πρόγραμμα πολεοδομίας της Σχολής Πολεοδομίας και Αρχιτεκτονικής Τοπίου του Πανεπιστημίου του Μόντρεαλ. Ο Διευθυντής Έρευνας μου είναι ο Sébastien Lord, καθηγητής στη Σχολή Πολεοδομίας και Αρχιτεκτονικής Τοπίου.

Περιγράψτε αυτό το έργο

Η έρευνα αυτή αντιμετωπίζει την έννοια του «σπιτιού» στην ιστορία και το πλαίσιο της ελληνικής μετανάστευσης στη ευρύτερη περιοχή του Μόντρεαλ. Αυτό θα διερευνηθεί, αφενός, μέσω της διαδικασίας ανοικοδόμησης του ενός ατόμου που μεταναστεύει στον Καναδά και, αφετέρου, για τους απογόνους αυτής της πρώτης γενιάς μεταναστών. Το έργο θα αντιμετωπίσει το πλαίσιο της ενσωμάτωσης από την άποψη του ενδιαϊτήματος, της στέγασης και της πόλης γενικότερα. Η κεντρική ιδέα του έργου είναι να κατανοήσει τι διευκολύνει ή καθιστά δυσκολότερο για τους μετανάστες να ενταχθούν στην επικράτεια μιας πόλης όπως το Μόντρεαλ και πώς καταφέρνουν να ανοικοδομήσουν το συναίσθημα της ύπαρξης «του σπιτιού». Για να γίνει αυτό, η έρευνα θα αναλύσει τα οικιστικά υπόβαθρα των μεταναστών στην πόλη καθώς και τους τόπους, τους ανθρώπους και τις δραστηριότητες που συνθέτουν την καθημερινότητά τους.

Αν συμμετάσχω, τι θα πρέπει να κάνω;

Ως μετανάστης ή απόγονος μετανάστη που κατοικεί στο έδαφος της ευρύτερης περιοχής του Μόντρεαλ, στην πόλη / στο δήμο _____, η συμμετοχή σας στην έρευνα θα λάβει τη μορφή ατομικής συνέντευξης περίπου 60 λεπτών με τον Αθανάσιο Μπουτά, φοιτητή στο μεταπτυχιακό πρόγραμμα πολεοδομίας. Αυτή η συνέντευξη θα πραγματοποιηθεί στο _____, στις _____ / _____ / _____.

Υπάρχουν κίνδυνοι ή οφέλη για τη συμμετοχή σε αυτήν την έρευνα;

Συμμετέχοντας σε αυτήν την έρευνα, ενδέχεται να σας ζητηθεί να μιλήσετε για σημαντικά θέματα. Επιπλέον, θα συμβάλλετε στην προώθηση της γνώσης σχετικά με τη διαδικασία ενσωμάτωσης των μεταναστών στο Μόντρεαλ, συμπεριλαμβανομένου του τι διευκολύνει ή όχι της εγκατάστασης από την άποψη της στέγασης και της γνώσης της πόλης και του εξοπλισμού της. Τα αποτελέσματα αυτής της έρευνας θα χρησιμοποιηθούν για να τροφοδοτήσουν τον προβληματισμό σχετικά με τον σχεδιασμό της πόλης σε ένα πλαίσιο ανταλλαγής και παγκοσμιοποίησης καθώς και σε επίπεδο αστικών και στεγαστικών πολιτικών.

Τι θα κάνετε με τις απαντήσεις μου;

Η συνέντευξη θα ηχογραφηθεί για σκοπούς μεταγραφής. Η συνέντευξη θα γίνει σε δύο στάδια. Πρώτον, θα σας ρωτήσω για τις συνθήκες της αναχώρησης της οικογένειάς σας από την Ελλάδα και την άφιξή τους ή τη ζωή τους στην ελληνική κοινότητα στην περιοχή του Μόντρεαλ. Δεύτερον, θα σας ζητηθούν ερωτήσεις για την εγκατάσταση και την ενσωμάτωση στο Μόντρεαλ. Για παράδειγμα, θα μας πείτε πού ζείτε και πού επισκέπτεστε τακτικά στην πόλη. Επιπλέον, θα ερωτηθείτε γιατί επιλέγετε να επισκεφθείτε αυτά τα μέρη και γιατί επιλέξατε το σπίτι και τη γειτονιά σας σε σχέση με άλλη.

Θα προστατευθούν τα προσωπικά μου δεδομένα;

Ναι! Όλες οι πληροφορίες που παρέχετε στο πλαίσιο αυτής της έρευνας (τα δεδομένα της συνέντευξης, προσωπικές πληροφορίες, τα μέρη που επισκέπτεστε στην πόλη, τα σχόλιά σας για αυτά και τις απόψεις σας για πόλη ή την ζωή στο Μόντρεαλ) θα παραμείνουν εμπιστευτικά. Οι συνεντεύξεις θα μεταγραφούν και οι καταγραφές θα καταστραφούν 7 χρόνια μετά το τέλος του έργου. Μετά από αυτήν την ημερομηνία, θα διατηρούνται μόνο τα δεδομένα που δεν μπορούν να χρησιμοποιηθούν για την αναγνώρισή σας. Κανένα όνομα ή αρχικό δεν θα συσχετιστεί με τα δεδομένα που μας παρέχετε· θα χρησιμοποιηθούν κωδικοί αναγνώρισης για να διασφαλιστεί η ανωνυμία σας. Μόνο ο ερευνητής που είναι υπεύθυνος για το έργο θα έχει πρόσβαση στον πίνακα κωδικοποίησης, επιτρέποντας στους συμμετέχοντες να συνδέονται με τις απαντήσεις τους. Τα αρχεία συνέντευξης, οι μεταγραφές των συνεντεύξεων και οι χάρτες που θα παραχθούν θα φυλάσσονται σε κλειδωμένο γραφείο σε κλειστό γραφείο. Καμία πληροφορία που θα σας αναγνωρίσει με οποιονδήποτε τρόπο δεν θα κυκλοφορήσει.

Εάν επιθυμείτε να λάβετε μια περίληψη των τελικών αποτελεσμάτων της έρευνας μου, μπορείτε να με ρωτήσετε και θα σας στείλω μια περίληψη της διατριβής του κυρίου μου.

Πρέπει να απαντήσω σε όλες τις ερωτήσεις και να πάω μέχρι το τέλος;

Όχι! Η συμμετοχή σας είναι εντελώς εθελοντική. Μπορείτε να αποσύρετε ανά πάσα στιγμή με απλή προφορική προειδοποίηση, χωρίς προκαταλήψεις και χωρίς να χρειάζεται να δικαιολογήσετε την απόφασή σας. Αν αποφασίσετε να αποχωρήσετε από την έρευνα, μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε με τον Διευθυντή Έρευνας στον αριθμό τηλεφώνου που αναφέρεται παρακάτω. Εάν αποχωρήσετε από την αναζήτηση, όλες οι πληροφορίες που συλλέγονται κατά τη στιγμή της απόσυρσής σας (κατοικία, μεταγραφές και εγγραφές) θα καταστραφούν.

Σε ποιον μπορώ να μιλήσω αν έχω ερωτήσεις κατά τη διάρκεια της μελέτης;

Για ερωτήσεις, μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε με τον προϊστάμενό μου στον ακόλουθο [redacted] [redacted] ή στην ακόλουθη διεύθυνση ηλεκτρονικού ταχυδρομείου [redacted]. Διάφοροι πόροι είναι στη διάθεσή σας.

Το έργο εγκρίθηκε από την Πολυτομεακή Επιτροπή Ηθικής Έρευνας του Πανεπιστημίου του Μόντρεαλ. Για οποιεσδήποτε ανησυχίες σχετικά με τα δικαιώματα και τις ευθύνες των ερευνητών σχετικά με τη συμμετοχή σας σε αυτό το έργο, μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε με την επιτροπή τηλεφωνικά στο [redacted] ext. [redacted] ή στη διεύθυνση ηλεκτρονικού ταχυδρομείου [redacted] ή επισκεφθείτε την ιστοσελίδα : <http://recherche.umontreal.ca/participants>.

Εάν έχετε παράπονα σχετικά με τη συμμετοχή σας σε αυτή την έρευνα, μπορείτε να επικοινωνήσετε με τον Διαμεσολαβητή (είναι «προστάτης των πολιτών») του Πανεπιστημίου του Μόντρεαλ, τον αριθμό τηλεφώνου [redacted] ή στην διεύθυνση ηλεκτρονικού ταχυδρομείου [redacted] (ο διαμεσολαβητής δέχεται κλήσεις συλλογής).

Πώς μπορώ να συμφωνήσω να συμμετάσχω στην έρευνα;

Υπογράφοντας και παρέχοντάς μου αυτό το έντυπο συγκατάθεσης. Θα σας αφήσω ένα αντίγραφο της φόρμας που μπορείτε να φυλάξετε για μελλοντική αναφορά.

ΣΥΓΚΑΤΑΘΕΣΗ

Συμμετοχική δήλωση

- Καταλαβαίνω ότι μπορώ να πάρω το χρόνο μου να το σκεφτώ πριν συμφωνήσω ή όχι με τη συμμετοχή μου.
- Μπορώ να υποβάλω ερωτήσεις στην ερευνητική ομάδα και να ζητήσω ικανοποιητικές απαντήσεις.
- Καταλαβαίνω ότι συμμετέχοντας σε αυτό το ερευνητικό έργο, δεν παραιτείται από τα δικαιώματά μου ούτε αποδεσμεύει τους ερευνητές από τις ευθύνες τους.
- Έχω διαβάσει αυτό το έντυπο πληροφοριών και συγκατάθεσης και συμφωνώ να συμμετάσχω στο ερευνητικό έργο.

Συμφωνώ με την καταγραφή της συνέντευξης: Ναί _____ Όχι _____

Υπογραφή του συμμετέχοντος: _____ Ημερομηνία: _____

Επώνυμο: _____ Όνομα: _____

Η δέσμευση του ερευνητή

Εξήγησα στους συμμετέχοντες τους όρους συμμετοχής στο ερευνητικό έργο. Απάντησα με βάση τις καλύτερες γνώσεις μου στις ερωτήσεις που τέθηκαν και βεβαιώθηκα για την κατανόηση του συμμετέχοντα. Δεσμεύομαι, με την ερευνητική ομάδα, να σέβομαι τι έχει συμφωνηθεί σε αυτή το έντυπο πληροφοριών και συγκατάθεσης.

Υπογραφή του ερευνητή: _____ Ημερομηνία: _____

Επώνυμο: _____ Όνομα: _____

Appendix E – Questionnaire, first generation, English version

Participant's identification number: _____

First generation

Greek immigration questionnaire

Part 1 – The migratory “project”: Why leave?

In this first part of the interview, we will talk a little about the preparations you took prior to departing, what you knew about Montreal before arriving, as well as your arrival.

1. What was the date of your arrival to Montreal (for the purpose of moving)?
Was this your first time coming to Montreal?
If not:
 In what context did you previously come?
 For what reasons?
 With who?
If yes [next question].
What did you know about Montreal prior to arriving?
 Who?
 What?
 In what context did you know these people and places?
2. For what reasons did you choose to come to Montreal?
What attracted you to Montreal?
 [Language]
 [Cultural diversity]
 [Employment opportunities]
 [Family / friends]
 [Other]
If no was chosen in [Question 1]:
 Would you have preferred to immigrate somewhere else?
 Could you describe that place (city, suburb, region, countryside, country)?
 For what reasons would you have preferred this place instead of Montreal?
3. What image did you have of Montreal at the time?
Did you associate it with positive things?
Did you associate it with negative things?
4. Did you plan to settle in Montreal for long at the time?
If yes:
How did you prepare for your arrival?
 [Work]
 [Housing]
 [Relationships]
If no [1]:
For what reasons did you not expect to settle in Montreal for long?
Did you have a return date planned?
If no [2]:

Did you plan to settle elsewhere other than Montreal for long at the time?
How did you prepare for that arrival?

[Work]

[Housing]

[Relationships]

5. What / how did you feel at the time of leaving Greece?
Did you associate it with positive things?
Did you associate it with negative things?

Part 2 – Acclimatization: Arriving and discovering

In this second part, we will talk about your discovery of Montreal as you were settling in following your arrival, as well as the places you associated with this period of acclimatization to your new place of residence.

6. What are the places that you associate with the first few weeks following your arrival to Montreal?
How did you come to know of these places?
 [With who?]
 [For what reasons?]
 [Where were they located?]
What would you do at these places?

7. From what you can remember, how did you perceive these places at the time?
 What feelings [safety / security, pleasure, attachment, familiarity, displacement, worry / concerns] did you associate with these places?

8. Among these places, were there any that were associated with the Greek community?
How did you find out about these places?
 [With who?]
 [For what reasons?]
 [Where were they located?]
What would you do at these places?

9. Do you still visit these places?
If yes:
 For what reasons?
If no:
 For what reasons?
 Have they been replaced by other places?

Part 3 – Settling in: Residential trajectory and daily life

In this third part of the interview, we will discuss the steps you took while settling in, most notably the different houses and neighbourhoods you lived in.

10. When you arrived to Montreal, were you able to rent a dwelling immediately or did you have to stay somewhere temporarily?
11. Could you briefly describe to me the dwelling you stayed in when you first arrived to Montreal?
[Location, type, type and length of tenure, other residents, relationships with neighbours]
12. Could you describe to me the dwelling you lived in when you signed your first lease in Montreal?
[Location, type, type and length of tenure, other residents, relationships with neighbours]
How did you find it?
For what reasons did you choose this dwelling instead of another?
Why did you leave it?
13. Could you tell me about the activities that are associated with this dwelling?
I have here a list of activities in the neighbourhood or a little further away in the city that I would like to discuss with you. I would like for you to show me these places on the map.

For the first dwelling (first rented dwelling) and activities associated with it: colour code RED – D1.

Nature of activity	Location (street, intersection)	Mode of transportation (Car, Public transit, Foot, Bicycle)	Frequency of activity (times/week)
Professional <i>Work</i> <i>School</i> <i>Daycare</i> <i>Other</i>			
Shopping <i>Grocery store</i> <i>Supermarket</i> <i>Baker</i> <i>Butcher</i> <i>Other</i>			
Services (professional & personal) <i>Pharmacy</i> <i>Gas station</i> <i>Bank</i> <i>Governmental services</i> <i>Other</i>			
Social activities <i>Restaurant / Coffee shop / Bar</i> <i>Cultural / Association venues</i> <i>Sports / Entertainment</i> <i>Visit to family / friends</i> <i>Other</i>			
Health <i>Clinic</i> <i>Doctor's office</i> <i>Dentist</i> <i>Optometrist</i> <i>Other</i>			
Place of worship <i>Church</i> <i>Monastery</i> <i>Temple</i>			

14. Could you describe to me the last dwelling that you chose (purchase, lease) in Montreal before moving into the retirement home?

[Location, type, type and length of tenure, other residents, relationships with neighbours]

How did you find it?

For what reasons did you choose this dwelling instead of another?

Why did you leave it?

15. Could you tell me about the activities that are associated with this dwelling?

As with the previous dwelling, I have here a list of activities in the neighbourhood or a little further away in the city that I would like to discuss with you. I would like for you to show me these places on the map.

For the second dwelling (last dwelling prior to moving to the retirement home) and activities associated with it: colour code GREEN – D2.

Nature of activity	Location (street, intersection)	Mode of transportation (Car, Public transit, Foot, Bicycle)	Frequency of activity (times/week)
Professional <i>Work</i> <i>School</i> <i>Daycare</i> <i>Other</i>			
Shopping <i>Grocery store</i> <i>Supermarket</i> <i>Baker</i> <i>Butcher</i> <i>Other</i>			
Services (professional & personal) <i>Pharmacy</i> <i>Gas station</i> <i>Bank</i> <i>Governmental services</i> <i>Other</i>			
Social activities <i>Restaurant / Coffee shop / Bar</i> <i>Cultural / Association venues</i> <i>Sports / Entertainment</i> <i>Visit to family / friends</i> <i>Other</i>			
Health <i>Clinic</i> <i>Doctor's office</i> <i>Dentist</i> <i>Optometrist</i> <i>Other</i>			
Place of worship <i>Church</i> <i>Monastery</i> <i>Temple</i>			

16. Could you describe to me the dwelling that you are currently living in in Montreal (the retirement home)?

[Location, type, type and length of tenure, other residents, relationships with neighbours]

How did you find it?

For what reasons did you choose this dwelling instead of another?

Why did you leave it?

17. Could you tell me about the activities that are associated with this dwelling?

As with the previous dwellings, I have here a list of activities in the neighbourhood or a little further away in the city that I would like to discuss with you. I would like for you to show me these places on the map.

For the third dwelling (current dwelling) and activities associated with it: colour code BLUE – D3.

Nature of activity	Location (street, intersection)	Mode of transportation (car, public transit, foot, bicycle)	Frequency of activity (times/week)
Professional <i>Work</i> <i>School</i> <i>Daycare</i> <i>Other</i>			
Shopping <i>Grocery store</i> <i>Supermarket</i> <i>Baker</i> <i>Butcher</i> <i>Other</i>			
Services (professional & personal) <i>Pharmacy</i> <i>Gas station</i> <i>Bank</i> <i>Governmental services</i> <i>Other</i>			
Social activities <i>Restaurant / Coffee shop / Bar</i> <i>Cultural / Association venues</i> <i>Sports / Entertainment</i> <i>Visit to family / friends</i> <i>Other</i>			
Health <i>Clinic</i> <i>Doctor's office</i> <i>Dentist</i> <i>Optometrist</i> <i>Other</i>			
Place of worship <i>Church</i> <i>Monastery</i> <i>Temple</i>			

Nature of activity	Location (street, intersection)	Mode of transportation (Car, Public transit, Foot, Bicycle)	Frequency of activity (times/week)
Professional <i>Work</i> <i>School</i>			

<i>Daycare</i>			
<i>Other</i>			
Shopping <i>Grocery store</i> <i>Supermarket</i> <i>Baker</i> <i>Butcher</i> <i>Other</i>			
Services (professional & personal) <i>Pharmacy</i> <i>Gas station</i> <i>Bank</i> <i>Governmental services</i> <i>Other</i>			
Social activities <i>Restaurant / Coffee shop / Bar</i> <i>Cultural / Association venues</i> <i>Sports / Entertainment</i> <i>Visit to family / friends</i> <i>Other</i>			
Health <i>Clinic</i> <i>Doctor's office</i> <i>Dentist</i> <i>Optometrist</i> <i>Other</i>			
Place of worship <i>Church</i> <i>Monastery</i> <i>Temple</i>			

18. Could you describe to me the dwelling that you lived in prior to coming to Montreal?
[Location, type, type and length of tenure, other residents, relationships with neighbours]
How did you find it?
For what reasons did you choose this dwelling instead of another?
Why did you leave it?
19. Could you tell me about the activities that are associated with this dwelling?
[Activities in the neighbourhood]
[Activities outside of the neighbourhood]
20. Among all the dwellings we just discussed, which is the one in which you felt best?
For what reasons or events in particular?
[Reasons related to the dwelling]
[Reasons related to the neighbourhood]
[Reasons related to something else (settling with spouse, birth of a child, etc.)]
[If it is another dwelling, reproduce the mapping and table activity]

For the dwelling of best comfort and activities associated with it: colour code BLACK – D4.

Nature of activity	Location (street, intersection)	Mode of transportation (Car, Public transit, Foot, Bicycle)	Frequency of activity (times/week)
Professional <i>Work</i> <i>School</i> <i>Daycare</i> <i>Other</i>			
Shopping <i>Grocery store</i> <i>Supermarket</i> <i>Baker</i> <i>Butcher</i> <i>Other</i>			
Services (professional & personal) <i>Pharmacy</i> <i>Gas station</i> <i>Bank</i> <i>Governmental services</i> <i>Other</i>			
Social activities <i>Restaurant / Coffee shop / Bar</i> <i>Cultural / Association venues</i> <i>Sports / Entertainment</i> <i>Visit to family / friends</i> <i>Other</i>			
Health <i>Clinic</i> <i>Doctor's office</i> <i>Dentist</i> <i>Optometrist</i> <i>Other</i>			
Place of worship <i>Church</i> <i>Monastery</i> <i>Temple</i>			

21. Do you feel settled in in Montreal today?
Do you feel “at home” in Montreal today?
Did you wake up with that feeling one morning or was the process more gradual?

22. Since the time you first settled in Montreal, do you feel like a different city dweller?
What has changed in the manner in which you live in your neighbourhood?

Part 4 – Identities in flux: Here and there

In this fourth part, we will look at the connections you have kept with Greece, as well as the new ones you have made with the Greek community in Montreal.

23. Did you keep any connections with Greece?
How?
Why did you keep these connections?

24. Is it important to keep up with current events in Greece?
What current events in particular?
By what means?
Is it important for you to stay informed of Greece?

25. Do you have any connections with the Greek community in Montreal?
If yes:
 For what reasons?
 Did the Greek community in Montreal help you when you first arrived to the city?
If no:
 How do you explain that?

26. When you first arrived to Montreal, how important was it for you to interact with other Greeks in the city?
 Do you still feel the same way today?
 [Social interactions / friendships]
 [Marriage]
 [Raising children]

27. How important was it for you to interact with non-Greeks in the city?
 Do you still feel the same way today?
 [Social interactions / friendships]
 [Marriage]
 [Raising children]

Part 5 – From the migratory project to the life project: Places and links

In this final part, we will look at your life trajectory and the places that stuck out the most for you throughout this.

28. If you had to share your Montreal with someone dear to you, where would you bring them?
Why this/these place/s?
Which are the most important and why?
29. If you had to bring someone dear to the neighbourhood where you live, where would you bring them?
Why this/these place/s?
Which are the most important and why?

To end the interview, I will propose a few affirmations to you and I would like for you to quickly comment on them.

30. If I tell you: I'm more attached to Montreal than I am to Greece.
Why would you say that?
31. If I tell you: I'm more attached to my neighbourhood than I am to Montreal.
Why would you say that?
32. If I tell you: The people in my neighbourhood live the same way.
Why would you say that?
33. If I tell you: The people in my neighbourhood resemble those in Greece.
Why would you say that?
34. If I tell you: There are moments where I feel like a stranger in Montreal.
In what situation and why would you say that?
35. If I tell you: I would have liked to retire in Greece rather than in Montreal.
Why would you say that?
36. If I tell you: I would like to live my last days in Montreal rather than in Greece.
Why would you say that?
37. If I tell you: I would like to be buried in Montreal rather than in Greece.
Why would you say that?

Monthly amount dedicated to current dwelling (mortgage, rent):

Vehicles owned and numbers:

Car: []
Bicycle: []
Motorized two-wheeler: []
Other: []

Public transit subscriptions and nature of subscription

Société de transport de Montréal [] Nature :
Société de transport de Laval [] Nature :
Société de transport de la Rive-Sud [] Nature :
Bixi [] Nature :
Communauto [] Nature :
Other [] Nature :

Thank you!

I would like to thank you for your generosity and the time you took to answer this questionnaire. Your contribution is of great value to my research on Greek migration to Montreal. Please rest assured that whatever information you have provided will remain confidential.

Ερωτηματολόγιο Ελληνικής μετανάστευσης

Μέρος 1 - Το μεταναστευτικό "έργο": Γιατί να φύγετε;

Σε αυτό το πρώτο μέρος της συνέντευξης, θα μιλήσουμε λίγο για τις προετοιμασίες που πήρατε πριν από την αναχώρηση, τι γνωρίζατε για το Μόντρεαλ πριν φτάσετε, καθώς και την άφιξή σας.

1. Ποια ήταν η ημερομηνία άφιξής σας στο Μόντρεαλ (για λόγους μετακίνησης/μετανάστευσης);

Ήταν αυτή η πρώτη σας φορά στο Μόντρεαλ;

Αν όχι:

Σε ποιο πλαίσιο ήρθατε προηγουμένως;

Για ποιους λόγους;

Με ποιον?

Αν ναι [επόμενη ερώτηση].

Τι γνωρίζατε σχετικά με το Μόντρεαλ πριν φτάσετε;

Ποιον?

Τι?

Σε ποιο πλαίσιο γνωρίζατε αυτούς τους ανθρώπους και μέρη;

2. Για ποιους λόγους επιλέξατε να έρθετε στο Μόντρεαλ;

Τι σας προσέλκυσε στο Μόντρεαλ;

[Γλώσσα]

[Διαφορετικότητα κουλτούρας]

[Ευκαιρίες εργασίας]

[Οικογένεια / φίλοι]

[Άλλο]

Εάν είπε ΟΧΙ στο [πρώτο ερώτημα]:

Θα προτιμούσατε να είχατε μεταναστεύσει κάπου αλλού;

Μπορείτε να περιγράψετε αυτόν τον τόπο (πόλη, προάστιο, περιοχή, ύπαιθρο, χώρα);

Για ποιους λόγους θα προτιμούσατε αυτό το μέρος αντί του Μόντρεαλ;

3. Τι εικόνα είχατε από το Μόντρεαλ εκείνη τη στιγμή;

Το συνδέατε με θετικά πράγματα;

Μήπως το συνδέατε με αρνητικά πράγματα;

4. Σκοπεύατε να εγκατασταθείτε στο Μόντρεαλ για μεγάλο χρονικό διάστημα;

Αν ναι:

Πώς προετοιμάσατε την άφιξή σας;

[Δουλειά]

[Στέγαση]
[Σχέσεις]

Εάν όχι [1]:

Για ποιους λόγους δεν περιμένατε να εγκατασταθείτε στο Μόντρεαλ για μεγάλο χρονικό διάστημα;

Ήχατε προγραμματίσει ημερομηνία επιστροφής;

Εάν όχι [2]:

Σκοπεύατε να εγκατασταθείτε αλλού εκτός από το Μόντρεαλ για μεγάλο χρονικό διάστημα;

Πώς προετοιμάσατε την άφιξη αυτή;

[Δουλειά]

[Στέγαση]

[Σχέσεις]

5. Τι / πώς αισθανθήκατε κατά την αποχώρησή σας από την Ελλάδα;

Το συνδέατε με θετικά πράγματα;

Μήπως το συνδέατε με αρνητικά πράγματα;

Μέρος 2 - Εγκλιματισμός: Φτάνοντας και ανακαλύπτοντας

Σε αυτό το δεύτερο μέρος, θα μιλήσουμε για την ανακάλυψή σας του Μόντρεαλ κατά την εγκατάστασή σας μετά την άφιξή σας, καθώς και τα μέρη που έχετε συνδέσει με αυτήν την περίοδο εγκλιματισμού στον νέο τόπο διαμονής σας.

6. Ποιες είναι οι τοποθεσίες που συνδέετε με τις πρώτες εβδομάδες μετά την άφιξή σας στο Μόντρεαλ;

Πώς γνωρίσατε αυτά τα μέρη;

[Με ποιον?]

[Για ποιους λόγους;]

[Πού βρισκόταν;]

Τι κάνατε σε αυτά τα μέρη;

7. Από ό, τι μπορείτε να θυμάστε, πώς αντιληφθήκατε αυτά τα μέρη εκείνη τη εποχή;

Ποια συναισθήματα [ασφάλεια, ευχαρίστηση, προσήλωση, εξοικείωση, μετακίνηση, ανησυχία] συνδέετε με αυτά τα μέρη;

8. Μεταξύ αυτών των τόπων, υπήρχαν κάποια που συνδέονταν με την ελληνική κοινότητα;

Πώς μάθατε για αυτά τα μέρη;

[Με ποιον?]

[Για ποιους λόγους;]

[Πού βρισκόταν;]

Τι κάνατε σε αυτά τα μέρη;

9. Ακόμα επισκέπτεστε αυτά τα μέρη;

Αν ναι:

Για ποιους λόγους;

Εάν όχι:

Για ποιους λόγους;

Έχουν αντικατασταθεί από άλλα μέρη;

Μέρος 3 - Εγκατάσταση: Οικιστική πορεία και καθημερινή ζωή

Σε αυτό το τρίτο μέρος της συνέντευξης, θα συζητήσουμε τα βήματα που κάνατε κατά τη διάρκεια της εγκατάστασής σας, κυρίως τα διάφορα σπίτια και τις γειτονιές που κατοικούσατε.

10. Όταν φτάσατε στο Μόντρεαλ, μπορέσατε να νοικιάσετε μια κατοικία αμέσως ή έπρεπε να μείνετε κάπου προσωρινά;
11. Θα μπορούσατε να μου περιγράψετε εν συντομία την κατοικία στην οποία μείνατε όταν φτάσατε για πρώτη φορά στο Μόντρεαλ;

[Τοποθεσία, τύπος, τύπος και διάρκεια της θητείας, άλλοι κάτοικοι, σχέσεις με γείτονες]

12. Θα μπορούσατε να μου περιγράψετε την κατοικία στην οποία μείνατε όταν υπογράψατε την πρώτη σας μίσθωση (νοίκι) στο Μόντρεαλ;

[Τοποθεσία, τύπος, τύπος και διάρκεια της κατοχής, άλλοι κάτοικοι, σχέσεις με γείτονες]

Πως το βρήκατε?

Για ποιους λόγους επιλέξατε αυτή την κατοικία αντί για άλλη;

Γιατί το άφησατε;

13. Μπορείτε να μου πείτε για τις δραστηριότητες που σχετίζονται με αυτή την κατοικία;

Έχω εδώ μια λίστα δραστηριοτήτων στη γειτονιά ή λίγο πιο μακριά στην πόλη που θα ήθελα να συζητήσω μαζί σας. Θα ήθελα να μου δείξετε αυτά τα μέρη στο χάρτη.

Για την πρώτη κατοικία (πρώτη μισθωμένη κατοικία) και τις συναφείς δραστηριότητες: κωδικός χρώματος **KOKKINO - D1.**

Φύση της δραστηριότητας	Τοποθεσία (δρόμος, σταυρόδρομος)	Τρόπος μεταφοράς (A υτοκίνητο, Συγκοινωνία, Πόδια, (B)ποδήλατο)	Συχνότητα δραστηριότητας (φορές / εβδομάδα)
Εξ επαγγέλματος Δουλειά Σχολείο Παιδικός σταθμός Άλλο			
Ψώνισμα Μανάβικο Σουπερμάρκετ Φούρνο Κρεοπωλείο Άλλο			
Υπηρεσίες (επαγγελματικές και προσωπικές) Φαρμακείο Βενζινάδικο Τράπεζα Κυβερνητικές υπηρεσίες Άλλο			
Κοινωνικές δραστηριότητες Εστιατόριο / Καφετέρια / Μπαρ Πολιτιστικοί τόποι συνάντησης / Συλλόγοι Σπορ / Ψυχαγωγία Επίσκεψη σε οικογένεια / φίλους Άλλο			
Υγεία Κλινική Γραφείο του γιατρού Οδοντίατρος Οφθαλμομετρής Άλλο			
Τόπος λατρείας Εκκλησία Μοναστήρι Ναός			

14. Μπορείτε να μου περιγράψετε την τελευταία κατοικία που επιλέξατε (αγορά, ενοίκιο) στο Μόντρεαλ πριν μετακομίσετε στην στέγη;

[Τοποθεσία, τύπος, τύπος και διάρκεια της κατοχής, άλλοι κάτοικοι, σχέσεις με γείτονες]

Πως το βρήκατε?

Για ποιους λόγους επιλέξατε αυτή την κατοικία αντί για άλλη;

Γιατί το άφησατε;

15. Μπορείτε να μου πείτε για τις δραστηριότητες που σχετίζονται με αυτή την κατοικία;

Όπως και με την προηγούμενη κατοικία, έχω εδώ μια λίστα με δραστηριότητες στη γειτονιά ή λίγο πιο μακριά στην πόλη που θα ήθελα να συζητήσω μαζί σας. Θα ήθελα να μου δείξετε αυτά τα μέρη στο χάρτη.

Για τη δεύτερη κατοικία (τελευταία κατοικία πριν τη μετακόμισή της στην στέγη) και για τις δραστηριότητες που σχετίζονται με αυτήν: κωδικός χρώματος ΠΡΑΣΙΝΟ - D2.

Φύση της δραστηριότητας	Τοποθεσία (δρόμος, σταυρόδρομος)	Τρόπος μεταφοράς (Α) αυτοκίνητο, Συγκοινωνία, Πόδια, (Β) ποδήλατο)	Συχνότητα δραστηριότητας (φορές / εβδομάδα)
Εξ επαγγέλματος Δουλειά Σχολείο Παιδικός σταθμός Άλλο			
Ψώνισμα Μανάβικο Σουπερμάρκετ Φούρνο Κρεοπωλείο Άλλο			
Υπηρεσίες (επαγγελματικές και προσωπικές) Φαρμακείο Βενζινάδικο Τράπεζα Κυβερνητικές υπηρεσίες Άλλο			
Κοινωνικές δραστηριότητες Εστιατόριο / Καφετέρια / Μπαρ Πολιτιστικοί τόποι συνάντησης / Συλλόγοι Σπορ / Ψυχαγωγία Επίσκεψη σε οικογένεια / φίλους Άλλο			
Υγεία Κλινική Γραφείο του γιατρού Οδοντίατρος Οφθαλμομετρής Άλλο			
Τόπος λατρείας Εκκλησία Μοναστήρι Ναός			

16. Θα μπορούσατε να μου περιγράψετε την κατοικία που ζείτε σήμερα στο Μόντρεαλ (στο σπίτι των συντάξεων);

[Τοποθεσία, τύπος, τύπος και διάρκεια της θητείας, άλλοι κάτοικοι, σχέσεις με γείτονες]

Πως το βρήκατε?

Για ποιους λόγους επιλέξατε αυτή την κατοικία αντί για άλλη;

Γιατί το άφησατε;

17. Μπορείτε να μου πείτε για τις δραστηριότητες που σχετίζονται με αυτή την κατοικία;

Όπως και με τις προηγούμενες κατοικίες, έχω εδώ μια λίστα με δραστηριότητες στη γειτονιά ή λίγο πιο μακριά στην πόλη που θα ήθελα να συζητήσω μαζί σας. Θα ήθελα να μου δείξετε αυτά τα μέρη στο χάρτη.

Για την τρίτη κατοικία (τρέχουσα κατοικία) και τις σχετικές δραστηριότητες: κωδικός χρώματος ΜΠΛΕ - D3.

Φύση της δραστηριότητας	Τοποθεσία (δρόμος, σταυρόδρομος)	Τρόπος μεταφοράς (A υτοκίνητο, Συγκοινωνία, Πόδια, (B)ποδήλατο)	Συχνότητα δραστηριότητας (φορές / εβδομάδα)
Εξ επαγγέλματος Δουλειά Σχολείο Παιδικός σταθμός Άλλο			
Ψώνισμα Μανάβικο Σουπερμάρκετ Φούρνο Κρεοπωλείο Άλλο			
Υπηρεσίες (επαγγελματικές και προσωπικές) Φαρμακείο Βενζινάδικο Τράπεζα Κυβερνητικές υπηρεσίες Άλλο			
Κοινωνικές δραστηριότητες Εστιατόριο / Καφετέρια / Μπαρ Πολιτιστικοί τόποι συνάντησης / Συλλόγοι Σπορ / Ψυχαγωγία Επίσκεψη σε οικογένεια / φίλους Άλλο			
Υγεία Κλινική Γραφείο του γιατρού Οδοντίατρος Οφθαλμομετρής Άλλο			
Τόπος λατρείας Εκκλησία Μοναστήρι Ναός			

18. Μπορείτε να μου περιγράψετε την κατοικία στην οποία διαμένετε πριν φτάσετε στο Μόντρεαλ;

[Τοποθεσία, τύπος, τύπος και διάρκεια της κατοχής, άλλοι κάτοικοι, σχέσεις με γείτονες]

Πως το βρήκατε?

Για ποιους λόγους επιλέξατε αυτή την κατοικία αντί για άλλη;

Γιατί το άφησατε;

19. Μπορείτε να μου πείτε για τις δραστηριότητες που σχετίζονται με αυτή την κατοικία;

[Δραστηριότητες στη γειτονιά]

[Δραστηριότητες εκτός γειτονιάς]

20. Μεταξύ όλων των κατοικιών που μόλις συζητήσαμε, ποιο είναι το καλύτερο;

Για ποιους λόγους ή συγκεκριμένα γεγονότα;

[Λόγοι που σχετίζονται με την κατοικία]

[Λόγοι που σχετίζονται με τη γειτονιά]

[Λόγοι που σχετίζονται με κάτι άλλο (διευθέτηση με σύζυγο, γέννηση παιδιού,

κ.λπ.)]

[Εάν πρόκειται για άλλη κατοικία, αναπαράγετε τη δραστηριότητα χαρτογράφησης και πίνακα]

D4. Για την καλύτερη άνεση και τις σχετικές δραστηριότητες: κωδικός χρώματος ΜΑΥΡΟ -

Φύση της δραστηριότητας	Τοποθεσία (δρόμος, σταυρόδρομος)	Τρόπος μεταφοράς (Α) αυτοκίνητο, Συγκοινωνία, Πόδια, (Β) ποδήλατο)	Συχνότητα δραστηριότητας (φορές / εβδομάδα)
Εξ επαγγέλματος Δουλειά Σχολείο Παιδικός σταθμός Άλλο			
Ψώνισμα Μανάβικο Σουπερμάρκετ Φούρνο Κρεοπωλείο Άλλο			
Υπηρεσίες (επαγγελματικές και προσωπικές) Φαρμακείο Βενζινάδικο Τράπεζα Κυβερνητικές υπηρεσίες Άλλο			
Κοινωνικές δραστηριότητες Εστιατόριο / Καφετέρια / Μπαρ Πολιτιστικοί τόποι συνάντησης / Συλλόγοι Σπορ / Ψυχαγωγία Επίσκεψη σε οικογένεια / φίλους Άλλο			
Υγεία Κλινική Γραφείο του γιατρού Οδοντίατρος Οφθαλμομετρής Άλλο			
Τόπος λατρείας Εκκλησία Μοναστήρι Ναός			

21. Αισθανόσαστε ότι είσατε πράφματι εγκατεστημένος /η σήμερα στο Μόντρεαλ;
Νιώθετε σαν να είστε "στο σπίτι" σήμερα στο Μόντρεαλ;
Ξυπνήσατε με αυτό το συναίσθημα ένα πρωί ή ήταν η διαδικασία πιο σταδιακή;
22. Από τη στιγμή που εγκατασταθήκατε για πρώτη φορά στο Μόντρεαλ, αισθάνεστε σαν ένας διαφορετικός κάτοικος πόλης;
Τι έχει αλλάξει με τον τρόπο που ζείτε στη γειτονιά σας;

Μέρος 4 - Ταυτότητες στη ροή: Εδώ και εκεί

Σε αυτό το τέταρτο μέρος, θα κοιτάξουμε τις συνδέσεις που έχετε διατηρήσει με την Ελλάδα, καθώς και τις νέες που έχετε κάνει με την ελληνική κοινότητα στο Μόντρεαλ.

23. Έχετε διατηρήσει οποιαδήποτε σύνδεση με την Ελλάδα;
- Πως?
Γιατί κράτησες αυτές τις συνδέσεις;
24. Είναι σημαντικό να συμβαδίζετε με τα τρέχοντα γεγονότα στην Ελλάδα;
- Πιο συγκεκριμένα, με ποιά γεγονότα;
Με ποια μέσα;
Είναι σημαντικό να ενημερώνεστε για την Ελλάδα;
25. Έχετε σχέσεις με την ελληνική κοινότητα στο Μόντρεαλ;
- Αν ναι:
Για ποιους λόγους;
Μήπως η ελληνική κοινότητα στο Μόντρεαλ σας βοήθησε όταν φτάσατε στην πόλη;
- Εάν όχι:
Πώς το εξηγείτε αυτό;
26. Όταν φτάσατε για πρώτη φορά στο Μόντρεαλ, πόσο σημαντικό ήταν να αλληλεπιδράσετε με άλλους Έλληνες στην πόλη;
- Αισθάνεστε ακόμα τον ίδιο τρόπο σήμερα;
[Κοινωνικές αλληλεπιδράσεις / φιλίες]
[Γάμος]
[Μεγαλώνοντας παιδιά]
27. Πόσο σημαντικό ήταν για εσάς να αλληλεπιδράσετε με τους μη Έλληνες στην πόλη;
- Αισθάνεστε ακόμα τον ίδιο τρόπο σήμερα;
[Κοινωνικές αλληλεπιδράσεις / φιλίες]
[Γάμος]
[Μεγαλώνοντας παιδιά]

Μέρος 5 - Από το μεταναστευτικό έργο στο έργο ζωής: Μέρη και σύνδεσμοι

Σε αυτό το τελευταίο μέρος, θα κοιτάξουμε τη τροχιά της ζωής σας και τα μέρη που σας έχουν κολλήσει περισσότερο.

28. Αν έπρεπε να μοιραστείτε το Μόντρεαλ το δικό σας με κάποιον αγαπητό σας, πού θα τους φέρνατε;

Γιατί αυτό το μέρος/αυτά τα μέρη;
Ποια είναι τα πιο σημαντικά και γιατί;

29. Αν έπρεπε να φέρετε κάποιον αγαπητό στη γειτονιά όπου ζείτε, πού θα τα φέρετε;

Γιατί αυτό το μέρος/αυτά τα μέρη;
Ποια είναι τα πιο σημαντικά και γιατί;

Για να τερματίσουμε τη συνέντευξη, θα σας προτείνω ορισμένες δηλώσεις και θα ήθελα να τις σχολιάσετε γρήγορα.

30. Αν σας πω: είμαι περισσότερο συνδεδεμένος στο Μόντρεαλ από ότι είμαι στην Ελλάδα.

Γιατί θα το λέγατε αυτό?

31. Αν σας πω: είμαι περισσότερο συνδεδεμένος με τη γειτονιά μου από ό, τι είμαι στο Μόντρεαλ.

Γιατί θα το λέγατε αυτό?

32. Αν σας πω: Οι άνθρωποι στη γειτονιά μου ζουν με τον ίδιο τρόπο.

Γιατί θα το λέγατε αυτό?

33. Αν σας πω: Οι άνθρωποι στη γειτονιά μου είναι όμοιοι με αυτούς στην Ελλάδα.

Γιατί είναι ομοιοι αυτό?

34. Αν σας πω: Υπάρχουν στιγμές που νιώθω σαν ξένος στο Μόντρεαλ.

Σε ποια κατάσταση και γιατί θα το λέγατε αυτό;

35. Αν σας πω: Θα είχα προτιμήσει να συνταξιοδοτηθώ στην Ελλάδα και όχι στο Μόντρεαλ.

Γιατί θα το λέγατε αυτό?

36. Αν σας πω: Θα ήθελα να ζήσω τις τελευταίες μέρες μου στο Μόντρεαλ και όχι στην Ελλάδα.

Γιατί θα το λέγατε αυτό?

37. Αν σας πω: Θα ήθελα να θαφτώ στο Μόντρεαλ και όχι στην Ελλάδα.

Γιατί θα το λέγατε αυτό?

Μηνιαίο ποσό για την τρέχουσα κατοικία (υποθήκη, ενοικίαση):

Οχήματα που ανήκουν και αριθμοί:

Αυτοκίνητο: []
Ποδήλατο: []
Μηχανοκίνητο δίτροχο: []
Άλλο: []

Συndρομές σε μέσα μαζικής μεταφοράς και φύση της συndρομής

Société de transport de Montréal (STM) [] Φύση:
Société de transport de Laval (STL) [] Φύση:
Réseau de transport de Longueuil (RTL) [] Φύση:
Bixi [] Φύση:
Communauto [] Φύση:
Άλλα [] Φύση:

Ευχαριστήριο

Θα ήθελα να σας ευχαριστήσω για τη γενναιοδωρία σας και τον χρόνο που πήρατε για να απαντήσετε σε αυτό το ερωτηματολόγιο. Η συμβολή σας έχει μεγάλη αξία στην έρευνα μου για την ελληνική μετανάστευση στο Μόντρεαλ. Να είστε σίγουροι ότι οι πληροφορίες που έχετε παράσχει θα παραμείνουν εμπιστευτικές.

Appendix G – Questionnaire, second generation, English version

Participant's identification number: _____

Second generation

Greek migration questionnaire

Part 1 – The early days: Growing up Greek

In this first part of the interview, we will talk a little about the earliest places you can remember going to while growing up in Montreal.

1. What are the places that you can remember visiting frequently with your parents / family as a child growing up in Montreal?
How did you come to know of these places?
 [With who?]
 [For what reasons?]
 [Where were they located?]
What would you do at these places?
2. From what you can remember, how did you perceive these places at the time?
 What feelings [safety / security, pleasure, attachment, familiarity, displacement, worry / concerns] did you associate with these places?
3. Among these places, were there any that were associated with the Greek community?
How did you find out about these places?
 [With who?]
 [For what reasons?]
 [Where were they located?]
What would you do at these places?
4. Do you still visit these places?
 If yes:
 For what reasons?
 If no:
 For what reasons?
 Have they been replaced by other places?

Part 2 – Coming of age: Greek youth in Canada

In this second part, we will look at the places you visited as you were coming of age in your teenage / young adult years.

5. What are the places that you can remember visiting frequently of your own free will in Montreal?
How did you come to know of these places?
 [With who?]
 [For what reasons?]
 [Where were they located?]
What would you do at these places?
6. From what you can remember, how did you perceive these places at the time?
 What feelings [safety / security, pleasure, attachment, familiarity, displacement, worry / concerns] did you associate with these places?
7. Among these places, were there any that were associated with the Greek community?
How did you find out about these places?
 [With who?]
 [For what reasons?]
 [Where were they located?]
What would you do at these places?
8. Do you still visit these places?
If yes:
 For what reasons?
If no:
 For what reasons?
 Have they been replaced by other places?

Part 3 – Settling in: Residential trajectory and daily life

In this third part of the interview, we will discuss your residential trajectory throughout your life, most notably the different houses and neighbourhoods you lived in.

9. Could you describe to me the dwelling where you born and spent your first few years in?
[Location, type, type and length of tenure, other residents, relationships with neighbours]
How did your parents find it?
For what reasons did they choose this dwelling instead of another?
Why did your parents leave it?

10. Could you tell me about the activities that are associated with this dwelling?
I have here a list of activities in the neighbourhood or a little further away in the city that I would like to discuss with you. I would like for you to show me these places on the map.

For the first dwelling (birth dwelling) and activities associated with it: colour code RED – D1.

Nature of activity	Location (street, intersection)	Mode of transportation (Car, Public transit, Foot, Bicycle)	Frequency of activity (times/week)
Professional <i>Work</i> <i>School</i> <i>Daycare</i> <i>Other</i>			
Shopping <i>Grocery store</i> <i>Supermarket</i> <i>Baker</i> <i>Butcher</i> <i>Other</i>			
Services (professional & personal) <i>Pharmacy</i> <i>Gas station</i> <i>Bank</i> <i>Governmental services</i> <i>Other</i>			
Social activities <i>Restaurant / Coffee shop / Bar</i> <i>Cultural / Association venues</i> <i>Sports / Entertainment</i> <i>Visit to family / friends</i> <i>Other</i>			
Health <i>Clinic</i> <i>Doctor's office</i> <i>Dentist</i> <i>Optometrist</i> <i>Other</i>			
Place of worship <i>Church</i> <i>Monastery</i> <i>Temple</i>			

11. Could you describe to me the dwelling that you chose (purchase, lease) in Montreal when you first moved out of your parents' house?

[Location, type, type and length of tenure, other residents, relationships with neighbours]

How did you find it?

For what reasons did you choose this dwelling instead of another?

Why did you leave it?

12. Could you tell me about the activities that are associated with this dwelling?

As with the previous dwelling, I have here a list of activities in the neighbourhood or a little further away in the city that I would like to discuss with you. I would like for you to show me these places on the map.

For the second dwelling (chosen dwelling) and activities associated with it: colour code GREEN – D2.

Nature of activity	Location (street, intersection)	Mode of transportation (Car, Public transit, Foot, Bicycle)	Frequency of activity (times/week)
Professional <i>Work</i> <i>School</i> <i>Daycare</i> <i>Other</i>			
Shopping <i>Grocery store</i> <i>Supermarket</i> <i>Baker</i> <i>Butcher</i> <i>Other</i>			
Services (professional & personal) <i>Pharmacy</i> <i>Gas station</i> <i>Bank</i> <i>Governmental services</i> <i>Other</i>			
Social activities <i>Restaurant / Coffee shop / Bar</i> <i>Cultural / Association venues</i> <i>Sports / Entertainment</i> <i>Visit to family / friends</i> <i>Other</i>			
Health <i>Clinic</i> <i>Doctor's office</i> <i>Dentist</i> <i>Optometrist</i> <i>Other</i>			
Place of worship <i>Church</i> <i>Monastery</i> <i>Temple</i>			

13. Could you describe to me the first dwelling that you are currently living in in Montreal?
[Location, type, type and length of tenure, other residents, relationships with neighbours]
How did you find it?
For what reasons did you choose this dwelling instead of another?
Why did you leave it?

14. Could you tell me about the activities that are associated with this dwelling?
As with the previous dwellings, I have here a list of activities in the neighbourhood or a little further away in the city that I would like to discuss with you. I would like for you to show me these places on the map.

For the third dwelling (current dwelling) and activities associated with it: colour code BLUE – D3.

Nature of activity	Location (street, intersection)	Mode of transportation (Car, Public transit, Foot, Bicycle)	Frequency of activity (times/week)
Professional <i>Work</i> <i>School</i> <i>Daycare</i> <i>Other</i>			
Shopping <i>Grocery store</i> <i>Supermarket</i> <i>Baker</i> <i>Butcher</i> <i>Other</i>			
Services (professional & personal) <i>Pharmacy</i> <i>Gas station</i> <i>Bank</i> <i>Governmental services</i> <i>Other</i>			
Social activities <i>Restaurant / Coffee shop / Bar</i> <i>Cultural / Association venues</i> <i>Sports / Entertainment</i> <i>Visit to family / friends</i> <i>Other</i>			
Health <i>Clinic</i> <i>Doctor's office</i> <i>Dentist</i> <i>Optometrist</i> <i>Other</i>			
Place of worship <i>Church</i> <i>Monastery</i> <i>Temple</i>			

15. Among all the dwellings we just discussed, which is the one in which you felt best?
For what reasons or events in particular?
[Reasons related to the dwelling]
[Reasons related to the neighbourhood]
[Reasons related to something else (settling with spouse, birth of a child, etc.)]
[If it is another dwelling, reproduce the mapping and table activity]

For the dwelling of best comfort and activities associated with it: colour code BLACK – D4.

Nature of activity	Location (street, intersection)	Mode of transportation (Car, Public transit, Foot, Bicycle)	Frequency of activity (times/week)
Professional <i>Work</i> <i>School</i> <i>Daycare</i> <i>Other</i>			
Shopping <i>Grocery store</i> <i>Supermarket</i> <i>Baker</i> <i>Butcher</i> <i>Other</i>			
Services (professional & personal) <i>Pharmacy</i> <i>Gas station</i> <i>Bank</i> <i>Governmental services</i> <i>Other</i>			
Social activities <i>Restaurant / Coffee shop / Bar</i> <i>Cultural / Association venues</i> <i>Sports / Entertainment</i> <i>Visit to family / friends</i> <i>Other</i>			
Health <i>Clinic</i> <i>Doctor's office</i> <i>Dentist</i> <i>Optometrist</i> <i>Other</i>			
Place of worship <i>Church</i> <i>Monastery</i> <i>Temple</i>			

Part 4 – Identities in flux: Here and there

In this fourth part, we will look at the connections you have with Greece, as well as the ones you have made with the Greek community in Montreal.

16. How did it feel growing up as a Greek-Canadian in Montreal?
How was your life at home similar / different from your life outside of home?
Do you feel like life at home was more Greek in nature than life outside of home?
Outside of home, were you drawn to Greek places or did you tend to avoid them?
As you were coming of age, did anything change in that respect?
17. Do you have any connections with Greece?
How?
Why did you make these connections?
18. Is it important to keep up with current events in Greece?
What current events in particular?
By what means?
Is it important for you to stay informed of Greece?
19. Do you have any connections with the Greek community in Montreal?
If yes:
For what reasons?
If no:
How do you explain that?
20. Growing up, how important was it for you to interact with other Greeks in the city?
Do you still feel the same way today?
[Social interactions / friendships]
[Marriage]
[Raising children]
21. Growing up, how important was it for you to interact with non-Greeks in the city?
Do you still feel the same way today?
[Social interactions / friendships]
[Marriage]
[Raising children]

Part 5 – The life project: Places and links

In this final part, we will look at your life trajectory and the places that stuck out the most for you throughout this.

22. If you had to share your Montreal with someone dear to you, where would you bring them?
Why this/these place/s?
Which are the most important and why?
23. If you had to share Greek Montreal with someone dear to you, would you do so?
Where would you bring them?
Why this/these place/s?
Which are the most important and why?
24. If you had to bring someone dear to the neighbourhood where you live, where would you bring them?
Why this/these place/s?
Which are the most important and why?

To end the interview, I will propose a few affirmations to you and I would like for you to quickly comment on them.

25. If I tell you: I'm more attached to Montreal than I am to Greece.
Why would you say that?
26. If I tell you: I'm more attached to the Greek community than I am to the Montreal community.
Why would you say that?
27. If I tell you: There are moments where I feel like a stranger in Montreal.
In what situation and why would you say that?
28. If I tell you: Growing up, there were moments where I felt like a stranger in Montreal.
In what situation and why would you say that?
29. If I tell you: I would like to retire in Montreal rather than in Greece.
Why would you say that?
30. If I tell you: I would like to live my last days in Montreal rather than in Greece.
Why would you say that?
31. If I tell you: I would like to be buried in Montreal rather than in Greece.
Why would you say that?

Vehicles owned and numbers:

Car: []
Bicycle: []
Motorized two-wheeler: []
Other: []

Public transit subscriptions and nature of subscription

Société de transport de Montréal [] Nature :
Société de transport de Laval [] Nature :
Société de transport de la Rive-Sud [] Nature :
Bixi [] Nature :
Communauto [] Nature :
Other [] Nature :

Thank you!

I would like to thank you for your generosity and the time you took to answer this questionnaire. Your contribution is of great value to my research on Greek migration to Montreal. Please rest assured that whatever information you have provided will remain confidential.

Appendix H – Questionnaire, third generation, English version

Participant's identification number: _____

Third generation

Greek migration questionnaire

Part 1 – The early days: Growing up Greek

In this first part of the interview, we will talk a little about the earliest places you can remember going to while growing up in Montreal.

1. What are the places that you can remember visiting frequently with your parents / family as a child growing up in Montreal?
How did you come to know of these places?
 [With who?]
 [For what reasons?]
 [Where were they located?]
What would you do at these places?
2. From what you can remember, how did you perceive these places at the time?
 What feelings [safety / security, pleasure, attachment, familiarity, displacement, worry / concerns] did you associate with these places?
3. Among these places, were there any that were associated with the Greek community?
How did you find out about these places?
 [With who?]
 [For what reasons?]
 [Where were they located?]
What would you do at these places?
4. Do you still visit these places?
 If yes:
 For what reasons?
 If no:
 For what reasons?
 Have they been replaced by other places?

Part 2 – Coming of age: Greek youth in Canada

In this second part, we will look at the places you visited as you were coming of age in your teenage / young adult years.

5. What are the places that you can remember visiting frequently of your own free will in Montreal?
How did you come to know of these places?
 [With who?]
 [For what reasons?]
 [Where were they located?]
What would you do at these places?
6. From what you can remember, how did you perceive these places at the time?
 What feelings [safety / security, pleasure, attachment, familiarity, displacement, worry / concerns] did you associate with these places?
7. Among these places, were there any that were associated with the Greek community?
How did you find out about these places?
 [With who?]
 [For what reasons?]
 [Where were they located?]
What would you do at these places?
8. Do you still visit these places?
If yes:
 For what reasons?
If no:
 For what reasons?
 Have they been replaced by other places?

Part 3 – Settling in: Residential trajectory and daily life

In this third part of the interview, we will discuss your residential trajectory throughout your life, most notably the different houses and neighbourhoods you lived in.

9. Could you describe to me the dwelling where you born and spent your first few years in?
[Location, type, type and length of tenure, other residents, relationships with neighbours]
How did your parents find it?
For what reasons did they choose this dwelling instead of another?
Why did your parents leave it?

10. Could you tell me about the activities that are associated with this dwelling?
I have here a list of activities in the neighbourhood or a little further away in the city that I would like to discuss with you. I would like for you to show me these places on the map.

For the first dwelling (birth dwelling) and activities associated with it: colour code RED – D1.

Nature of activity	Location (street, intersection)	Mode of transportation (Car, Public transit, Foot, Bicycle)	Frequency of activity (times/week)
Professional <i>Work</i> <i>School</i> <i>Daycare</i> <i>Other</i>			
Shopping <i>Grocery store</i> <i>Supermarket</i> <i>Baker</i> <i>Butcher</i> <i>Other</i>			
Services (professional & personal) <i>Pharmacy</i> <i>Gas station</i> <i>Bank</i> <i>Governmental services</i> <i>Other</i>			
Social activities <i>Restaurant / Coffee shop / Bar</i> <i>Cultural / Association venues</i> <i>Sports / Entertainment</i> <i>Visit to family / friends</i> <i>Other</i>			
Health <i>Clinic</i> <i>Doctor's office</i> <i>Dentist</i> <i>Optometrist</i> <i>Other</i>			
Place of worship <i>Church</i> <i>Monastery</i> <i>Temple</i>			

11. Could you describe to me the dwelling that you chose (purchase, lease) in Montreal when you first moved out of your parents' house?
[Location, type, type and length of tenure, other residents, relationships with neighbours]
Is this your current dwelling?
How did you find it?
For what reasons did you choose this dwelling instead of another?
Why did you leave it? / Why would you leave it?

12. Could you tell me about the activities that are associated with this dwelling?
As with the previous dwelling, I have here a list of activities in the neighbourhood or a little further away in the city that I would like to discuss with you. I would like for you to show me these places on the map.

For the second dwelling (chosen dwelling) and activities associated with it: colour code GREEN – D2.

If the second dwelling is also the current dwelling: colour code BLUE – D2.

Nature of activity	Location (street, intersection)	Mode of transportation (Car, Public transit, Foot, Bicycle)	Frequency of activity (times/week)
Professional <i>Work</i> <i>School</i> <i>Daycare</i> <i>Other</i>			
Shopping <i>Grocery store</i> <i>Supermarket</i> <i>Baker</i> <i>Butcher</i> <i>Other</i>			
Services (professional & personal) <i>Pharmacy</i> <i>Gas station</i> <i>Bank</i> <i>Governmental services</i> <i>Other</i>			
Social activities <i>Restaurant / Coffee shop / Bar</i> <i>Cultural / Association venues</i> <i>Sports / Entertainment</i> <i>Visit to family / friends</i> <i>Other</i>			
Health <i>Clinic</i> <i>Doctor's office</i> <i>Dentist</i> <i>Optometrist</i> <i>Other</i>			
Place of worship <i>Church</i> <i>Monastery</i> <i>Temple</i>			

[IF DWELLING 2 IS NOT THE CURRENT DWELLING]

13. Could you describe to me the first dwelling that you are currently living in in Montreal?
[Location, type, type and length of tenure, other residents, relationships with neighbours]
How did you find it?
For what reasons did you choose this dwelling instead of another?
Why did you leave it?

14. Could you tell me about the activities that are associated with this dwelling?
As with the previous dwellings, I have here a list of activities in the neighbourhood or a little further away in the city that I would like to discuss with you. I would like for you to show me these places on the map.

For the third dwelling (current dwelling) and activities associated with it: colour code BLUE – D3.

Nature of activity	Location (street, intersection)	Mode of transportation (Car, Public transit, Foot, Bicycle)	Frequency of activity (times/week)
Professional <i>Work</i> <i>School</i> <i>Daycare</i> <i>Other</i>			
Shopping <i>Grocery store</i> <i>Supermarket</i> <i>Baker</i> <i>Butcher</i> <i>Other</i>			
Services (professional & personal) <i>Pharmacy</i> <i>Gas station</i> <i>Bank</i> <i>Governmental services</i> <i>Other</i>			
Social activities <i>Restaurant / Coffee shop / Bar</i> <i>Cultural / Association venues</i> <i>Sports / Entertainment</i> <i>Visit to family / friends</i> <i>Other</i>			
Health <i>Clinic</i> <i>Doctor's office</i> <i>Dentist</i> <i>Optometrist</i> <i>Other</i>			
Place of worship <i>Church</i> <i>Monastery</i> <i>Temple</i>			

15. Among all the dwellings we just discussed, which is the one in which you felt best?
For what reasons or events in particular?
[Reasons related to the dwelling]
[Reasons related to the neighbourhood]
[Reasons related to something else (settling with spouse, birth of a child, etc.)]
[If it is another dwelling, reproduce the mapping and table activity]

For the dwelling of best comfort and activities associated with it: colour code BLACK – D4.

Nature of activity	Location (street, intersection)	Mode of transportation (car, public transit, foot, bicycle)	Frequency of activity (times/week)
Professional <i>Work</i> <i>School</i> <i>Other</i>			
Shopping <i>Grocery store</i> <i>Dépanneur</i> <i>Supermarket</i> <i>Bakery</i> <i>Shopping mall</i> <i>Other</i>			
Services <i>Pharmacy</i> <i>Barber /</i> <i>hairdresser</i> <i>Hardware store</i> <i>Gas station</i> <i>Bank</i> <i>Governmental</i> <i>services</i> <i>Daycare for</i> <i>children</i> <i>Other</i>			
Social activities <i>Restaurant</i> <i>Coffee shop</i> <i>Bar</i> <i>Sports</i> <i>Cultural</i> <i>Association</i> <i>Entertainment</i> <i>Visit to family /</i> <i>friends</i> <i>Other</i>			
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Place of worship <i>Church</i> <i>Monastery</i> <i>Temple</i>			

Part 4 – Identities in flux: Here and there

In this fourth part, we will look at the connections you have with Greece, as well as the ones you have made with the Greek community in Montreal.

16. How did it feel growing up as a third generation Greek-Canadian in Montreal?
How was your life at home similar / different from your life outside of home?
Do you feel like life at home was more Greek in nature than life outside of home? Was it a mix of Greek and Canadian cultures?
How was it visiting your grandparents while growing up? How was the experience at their homes?
Outside of home, were you drawn to Greek places or did you tend to avoid them?
17. Do you have any connections with Greece?
How?
Why did you make these connections?
Do you use technology to keep up with these connections? Has technology made it easier to keep up with these connections?
18. Is it important to keep up with current events in Greece?
What current events in particular?
By what means?
Is it important for you to stay informed of Greece?
Do you use technology to keep up with these current events? Has technology made it easier to keep up with these current events?
19. Do you have any connections with the Greek community in Montreal?
If yes:
For what reasons?
If no:
How do you explain that?
20. Growing up, how important was it for you to interact with other Greeks in the city?
Do you still feel the same way today?
[Social interactions / friendships]
[Marriage]
[Raising children]
21. Growing up, how important was it for you to interact with non-Greeks in the city?
Do you still feel the same way today?
[Social interactions / friendships]
[Marriage]
[Raising children]

Part 5 – The life project: Places and links

In this final part, we will look at your life trajectory and the places that stuck out the most for you throughout this.

22. If you had to share your Montreal with someone dear to you, where would you bring them?
Why this/these place/s?
Which are the most important and why?
23. If you had to share Greek Montreal with someone dear to you, would you do so?
Where would you bring them?
Why this/these place/s?
Which are the most important and why?
24. If you had to bring someone dear to the neighbourhood where you live, where would you bring them?
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